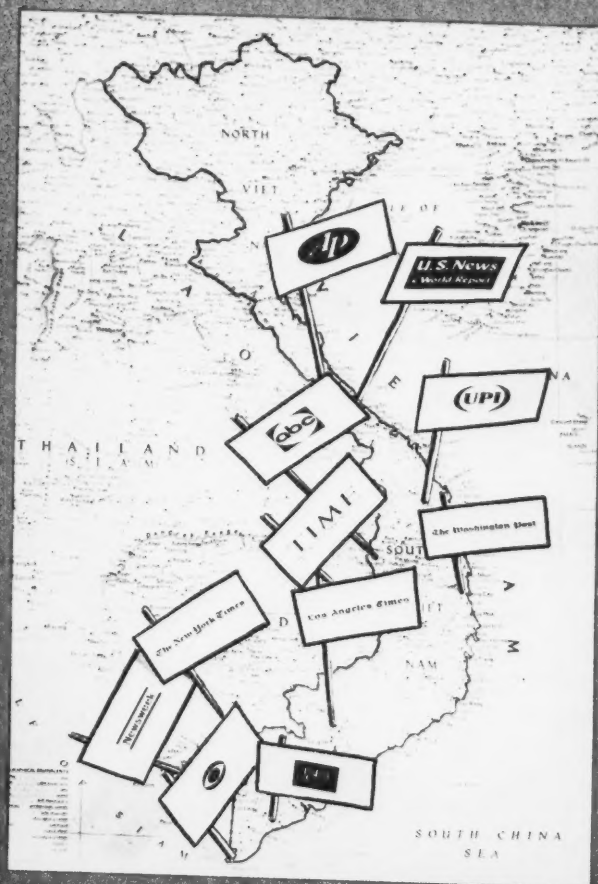


COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW



WINTER, 1967/1968

*A Viet Nam register: journalism and
a year in the war*

*The misunderstood rules for the
game of government ghost*

*Two Reader's Digest cases —
The Apollo story —
Secrets of newspaper failure*

...to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define – or redefine – standards of honest, responsible service ...

...to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Winter, 1967/1968

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Darts, laurels, and other missiles

Indiscreet: KTBC-TV, the Lyndon Johnson family station in Austin passed up Lynda Bird Johnson's wedding on December 9 for a previously scheduled football game.

Laurel: to the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, for voting at its last convention to veto "hospitality rooms" and similar entertainment hitherto offered to members by commercial organizations seeking business or good will.

Decent exposure? The *Chicago Tribune*, drawing on confidential military records, summarized the psychiatric history of James C. Garrison, New Orleans district attorney. The story served to help discredit Garrison's investigation of the Kennedy assassination. Will it be possible now to discuss his case on its merits?

Laurel: to *The Wall Street Journal*, for Henry Gemmill's analysis on November 8 of deteriorating morale in lower levels of the federal government. The twenty reporters who worked on the story deserved better than the epithet Secretary of Labor Wirtz laid on them—"scavengers of the press."

Excess: Coverage in *The New York Times* of December 19, 1967, of the arrest of a city commissioner for taking a kickback totaled ten stories, eight bylines, ten photographs, one editorial—350 column inches of space all told. What can they do for an encore when the case comes to trial?

Laurel: to Houston Waring's *Littleton* (Colorado) *Independent*, for stimulating the formation

of another local press council. The names of its nine members are now carried on the *Independent* masthead.

Bitten: In 1966, the National Association of Broadcasters had a respected research organization prepare a survey of public attitudes toward television. NAB's president used parts of the survey in speeches, but other parts—indicating dissatisfaction with programs and annoyance at commercials—were kept under wraps. Late in 1967, the embarrassing results leaked to *Television Digest*, and have been widely republished. It's simply another illustration of the old book-banning rule: suppression now leads to publicity later.

Decluttered: CBS offered recent special programs without middle-commercial interruptions—for example, a documentary on Gauguin and a full-length play, *Dear Friends*. Both programs benefited.

Laurel: to the Sunday *Courier-Journal* and *Times* of Louisville for its supplement, "Lessons for Louisville," a national survey of constructive steps in other cities to make the summer of 1968 less strife-torn than its predecessors.

Heal thyself: A *Wall Street Journal* story on December 5 tells how networks take pains to keep free commercial plugs off sports broadcasts. The broadcasters are much less careful about the worst plugging abuse of all—the unrestrained advertising that networks give their own programs at every available interval in a game.

Knowing when to quit: Stations KHOU-TV in Houston and WCCO-TV and KSTP-TV in the Twin Cities have dropped their telephoned straw polls as misleading. Anticipating their action was KQRS,

a Minneapolis radio station, which stopped its poll when it asked its listeners if its polls accurately reflected local opinion and 82 per cent answered no.

Too many reasons

In December, station WUIC-TV, Pittsburgh, announced that it would not cover a news conference at which a number of men were planning to turn in draft cards. The station broadcast an editorial saying it would ignore the event because the scheduled act was illegal (what could become of crime news!) and because the station would protect itself from publicity seekers. *Broadcasting* magazine congratulated WUIC-TV and added: "It was the editorial judgment of the Cox station's management that the event was not news." Well, which was it? Illegality, opposition to publicity seekers, or lack of news values? Could it be that somebody at WUIC simply didn't like draft resisters?

Puzzled Mr. Cronkite

In its spring, 1966, issue the *Review* printed maps showing that many stations were failing to clear time for network news and public affairs programs. The response from some stations was bitter.

More recently, Walter Cronkite — a network man but certainly no chronic complainer about television — pointed out similar facts in a New York speech and confessed himself hard put to understand them. He asked why seventy to eighty CBS stations skip the network's two week-end news programs, and that similar situations prevail on ABC and NBC. He said he could not understand why more than fifty stations failed to show the *CBS News Hour*. He said he could not see how, when a station is unwilling to carry a network news broadcast, it can still purloin network film for use in its own broadcast.

All this led up to Mr. Cronkite's wondering about the storm kicked up whenever journalists hinted at their dream of a nightly hour of network

news. "We find ourselves," he said, "headed off at that impassable pass called 'Clearance Gap'."

What is urgent?

A widely used textbook, Bruce Westley's *News Editing*, lists the "complete" news story as having six qualities — timeliness, human interest, proximity, prominence, consequence, and conflict. All these and more would seem to have been present in a story available for papers of December 30, 1967—the conviction in New York of three major drug concerns on charges of conspiracy to monopolize trade in an antibiotic, with consequent overcharges to consumers.

A researcher checked for the *Review* a selection of twenty-five dailies of national consequence (eighteen morning, seven afternoon) and found that five put the story on page one, nine others ran stories elsewhere in the paper, and eleven ran nothing. Alone in the group, *The Denver Post* gave the story (a UPI account) a lead position.

Two suggestions: first, that newspapers still underestimate stories that cut close to readers' essential concerns of life and health; second, that editors may have lacked advance warning of the importance of the story because only *The Washington Post* covered it regularly. Neither the New York papers nor the wire services did.

Never the twain

The abandonment of the projected merger between International Telephone and Telegraph and the American Broadcasting Companies (thanks largely to harassment by the Justice Department) had one or two salutary results: With the particular help of Nicholas Johnson of the Federal Communications Commission, there was for the first time serious attention focused on the problem of news independence in corporations tending other gardens. There may be a gain on another count: ITT harassed reporters covering Washington hearings on the merger; ABC News often sounded as if its stories about the mergers were dictated by management. Journalists can be relieved that two such managements did not get together.

A VIET NAM REGISTER

The Washington Post, January 1

Salisbury 'Casualties' Tally With Viet Reds'

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Civilian casualty figures on the bombing of Namdinh in North Vietnam—reported without attribution last week by Harrison E. Salisbury of the New York Times—are identical to those in a Communist propaganda pamphlet issued in November.

The pamphlet entitled "Re-

The year 1967 was, roughly speaking, the fifth in American journalism's extensive efforts to cover the conflict in Viet Nam and the foreign and domestic policy problems arising from it. For the record, and for whatever insights they may reveal, there are recorded here details of the war in 1967 as they affected the practice and principles of journalism in the United States.

JANUARY 1: Harrison E. Salisbury of *The New York Times*, filing stories from Hanoi since December 24, 1966, was beginning to draw heavy fire in the United States. *The Washington Post's* Pentagon correspondent, George C. Wilson, identified unattributed bomb casualty figures in a Salisbury story as identical with those in a Communist pamphlet. (*The Times* replied that the figures had to come from North Vietnamese sources, of course; but thereafter attributions were handled more carefully.) On this date, W. R. Hearst, Jr., suggested in a column datelined San Simeon that certain material in American media was helping the enemy more than Lord Haw Haw or Tokyo Rose ever did.

The New York Times, January 5

U.S. INVITES HANOI TO TELL IF STAND ON TALKS IS EASED

Interest Aroused by Remark of Premier Hinting Peace Points Aren't Conditions

UNCERTAINTY PERSISTS

North Vietnamese Reject British Parley Proposal as a 'Vicious' Plan

Aide Says Liberation Front Is Independent of the North

He Asserts in Hanoi Interview That It Must Be Heard on All Southern Issues, Including a Settlement of War

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY
Special to The New York Times
HANOI, North Vietnam, Jan. 5—Mr. Tien is a distinguished, gray-haired man of operations of the National Liberation Front are viewed by its considerable grasp of English. His leadership in terms sharply different from the picture held by many Americans. This contrast in view was the highlight of an interview given by a member of the Central Committee of the Liberation Front. As described by Mr. Tien, the

JANUARY 5: In a step not connected with Salisbury, Arthur Sylvester, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, announced his resignation, effective February 3. Sylvester had made news with his abrasive relations with Viet Nam reporters and his widely quoted and misquoted 1962 statement on the government's "right to lie" in a time of extreme crisis. (Later in 1967, he reiterated his position in a *Saturday Evening Post* article bearing the blunt title, "The Government Has the Right to Lie.") Sylvester was succeeded by Phil G. Goulding, a deputy who had also been a newspaperman once himself.

JANUARY 7: Two more American journalists arrived in Hanoi as Salisbury left. Harry S. Ashmore, formerly of *The Arkansas Gazette*, and William C. Baggs, of *The Miami News*, were drumming up business for a peace meeting sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. The State Department said: "They

are not going on a mission for the United States government and are carrying no message from the United States to Hanoi." This statement turned out to be misleading (see SEPTEMBER 18).

JANUARY 15: Baggs and Ashmore, now back in the United States, second Salisbury's observations on bomb damage to civilian areas in North Viet Nam — Baggs in a widely used series of stories published in his paper, *The Miami News*, and distributed by The Associated Press.

JANUARY 31: George C. Wilson of *The Washington Post* wrote that "the Pentagon's numbers game... has now spread to U.S. aircraft losses." A week later the Defense Department issued figures indicating losses of 1,700 aircraft in the war, "double the number announced as lost to hostile action," in the words of *The Wall Street Journal*.

FEBRUARY 4: In *The New Republic* of this date, Bernard B. Fall, the French-born scholar-journalist, reported the following incidents from South Viet Nam: "An NBC crew with a neighboring outfit witnessed and photographed the mutilation of a dead enemy soldier, but the NBC hierarchy in New York, mindful of the uproar created more than a year ago when an enterprising CBS cameraman filmed the burning of a village with cigarette lighters, 'killed' the sequence. Conversely, a reporter for a Texas newspaper was wounded that day by a VC sniper while he was flying about in a med-evac helicopter clearly marked with large red crosses. It is this kind of mutual barbarization, the needless cruelties inflicted far beyond military necessity, which will make the Vietnam war stand out in modern history."

FEBRUARY 12: Two NBC staff men were roughed up by United States military police while trying to cover a Viet Cong mortar attack in Saigon.

FEBRUARY 14: CBS News presented "Air War in the North," an hour documentary. Its severest critic, Michael J. Arlen of *The New Yorker*, wrote: "C.B.S. took one of the most controversial and important political-emotional issues of the moment, made a few brief stammers at journalistic 'objectivity,' presented government propaganda for fifty minutes, then gave us some hurried underweighted glimpses of the 'opposition' for a final five minutes, and that was it."

FEBRUARY 15: American officials in Saigon announced that civilians, including correspondents,

Conrad in Los Angeles Times, January 17



The Wall Street Journal, February 1

Comic Book Firm Says War in Vietnam Is Not Popular With Readers

National Periodical Has Halted Vietnam Comics, Cites Lack Of Sales to Young Public

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
NEW YORK — The Vietnam war is no more popular with comic book-buying youngsters than with their taxpaying elders, according to the nation's leading comic book publisher.

National Periodical Publications Inc., which

CBS News release, February 14

February 14, 1967

FIRST SAME-DAY FILM OF A VIETNAM STORY VIA NEW PACIFIC SATELLITE
BROADCAST ON "CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE" FEB. 13

CBS News used the new Pacific Intelstat II communications satellite for the first time yesterday (13) to provide same-day coverage of a Vietnam story, on CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE (6:30-7:00 PM, EST in some areas; 7:00-7:30 PM, EST in others) on the CBS Television Network.

Promotion ad, Broadcasting, February 27

The World's First Teenage War Correspondent
**BART'S BACK
 UP FRONT IN VIETNAM**



Following full recuperation from his first tour, Bart McLendon returns to the combat zones of bristling Vietnam.

Bart McLendon, an ex-Marine, covers the war head-on — from soggy rice fields during skirmish night patrols, from the front cockpits of F-100s during low altitude air strikes, from half lit, tangled jungles during raging firefights.

His first award-winning reports, interviews, and documentaries were aired over 47 radio stations — his columns read by millions in Chicago's *Sun-Times* and 53 *Daily News* wire affiliates.

Again, Bart McLendon's compelling coverage becomes immediately and exclusively available (as a public service) to broadcasters in the country's Top 100 markets.

WRITE MITCHELL I. LEWIS, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WIRE 2008 JACKSON STREET, DALLAS, TEXAS 75201
PHONE AREA CODE: 214-747-9311

with the armed forces in Viet Nam would fall under the jurisdiction of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

FEBRUARY 15: NBC and CBS said that they had turned down offers to send crews into North Viet Nam with the investigation teams for Bertrand Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal. Both said that the Russell group had asked for money contributions and other restrictive conditions. The Russell spokesman denied the story.

FEBRUARY 21: Bernard B. Fall was killed by a Viet Cong mine while accompanying a patrol of American marines in South Viet Nam. An editorial in *The Washington Post* memorialized him: "The qualities that endeared Professor Bernard B. Fall to his admirers and most exasperated his antagonists in the Vietnam debate were brutal candor and uncompromising intellectual integrity."

MARCH 5: The United States military command in Saigon announced that it would release the number killed and wounded in specific combat actions and discard the light-moderate-heavy criterion. In a story printed three days later, John Randolph, a Saigon correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, asked: "How could this information be a genuine military secret one year and press release material the next year?" His answer: politics.

MARCH 10: American journalists were shown, for the first time, air bases in Thailand used for bombing North Viet Nam.

MARCH 11: Ronald D. Gallagher, a Kansas photographer supplying midwestern newspapers, was killed in South Viet Nam. By *Editor & Publisher's* tabulation, he was the ninth journalist killed in the war.

MARCH 14: Hartford's WTIC-TV created a stir by refusing to show a scheduled CBS documentary, "Saigon," because, the station manager said, it "presented a distorted view of the American purpose in Vietnam." Jack Gould of *The New York Times* found the program "wanting in balance" and "anything but sympathetic to the American presence." One comment, printed in *Broadcasting*, came from an NBC employee in Saigon who congratulated WTIC-TV, but added "I know nothing about the program in question . . ."

U.S. News & World Report, March 27

U.S. News & World Report
 VOLUME LXXI—No. 13 WASHINGTON, D.C.

**BIGGER WAR AHEAD
 IN VIETNAM**



Pres. Johnson and General Westmoreland

Critical decisions faced President Johnson at Guam, forced on him by the enemy. Main order of business: how to convince the Communist leaders in Hanoi that truce talks are the only way out.

Outlook is for heavier U.S. bombings of the North, further escalation of the fighting in the South. Pacification program, too, gets new emphasis. Also, on pages 38 and 39: proof in pictures of Red build-up of forces during the February truce.

MARCH 24: *Time's* "Press" department of this date praised Dr. Howard Rusk, medical columnist of *The New York Times*, for exposing as a myth the charge that Vietnamese children had been burned by napalm; Dr. Rusk wrote that he had not found a single case. *Time* continued: "As for war casualties, Rusk discovered that most were caused by the Viet Cong, who follow a deliberate policy of killing civilians." A *Los Angeles Times* story on March 31 said that Rusk had told President Johnson that 30 per cent of such casualties were caused by American and South Vietnamese forces, 40 per cent by Viet Cong, and 30 per cent by unattributed small-arms fire. The story said that Rusk added that "he was sure napalm had taken its toll in civilian casualties." Two subsequent stories on the subject appeared in the "Medicine" department of *Time*.

MARCH 28: The credibility gap was enshrined in a two-part essay by Walter Lippmann published on this date and March 30.

APRIL 3: The *Los Angeles Times* printed a Unitarian minister's complaint about a headline that read: "Fighting Men Felt Presence of God in Big Jungle Clash."

APRIL 4: ABC News used lip readers to decipher what American prisoners were saying on a piece of film obtained from North Viet Nam. They read: small talk, not the confessions on the sound tape accompanying the film.

APRIL 13: By agreement with state police, newspaper, radio, and television outlets suppressed coverage of an antiwar "vigil" in Medford, Oregon.

APRIL 15: After antiwar marches in New York and San Francisco, disputes arose over the number of demonstrators. New York participants claimed that 400,000 marched; journalists leaned toward the police estimate of 100,000 to 125,000. At the next march — a prowar demonstration in May — *The New York Times* used a hand-counter to add up the marchers as they went by.

APRIL 17: James P. Brown of *The Providence Journal* wrote an article upholding Dr. Martin Luther King's opposition to the war; it led to the dropping of his column on grounds of "intolerance . . . and intellectual arrogance," in the words of the publisher. To cover the story the *Journal* and its sibling, *The Evening Bulletin*, reprinted an account of the dispute from *The New York Times*.

Time, March 24



BURNED VICTIM OF LAND-MINED BUS

Saturday Review, March 25



Napalm victim—"His mouth was drawn onto his chest. The fingers of both hands were scarred together [and useless for grasping]."

Christian Science Monitor, April 18



The New York Review of Books

Mary McCarthy reports from Vietnam:

"I confess that when I went to Vietnam early in February I was looking for material damaging to the American interest and that I found it, though often by accident or in the process of being briefed by an official. Finding it is no . . ." [Continued on Page 5]

Des Moines Register, May 4


Where to Find It:
The Des Moines Register
The Newspaper News Reports Upon
The Nation, The World, and the Times
From 1911 to 1961

NO RED BUILDUP, U.S. ADMITS

A. VET UNIT

Des Moines Tribune, May 4

Hence, it seems a good idea to try to summarize the main features of the present stage of the war.



JOSEPH
ALSOP

The primary "escalation" is not the intensified pressure on the North that the President's critics complain about. The main "escalation" is the highly visible preparation for a naked invasion of the northern provinces of South Vietnam by up to one-half of the North Vietnamese regular army.

The plan is to make one last desperate attempt to achieve a

APRIL 20: The freedom of information committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors complained in its annual report about White House news policies: "The war has escalated to the accompaniment of almost unbroken succession of pronouncements that it was going in the opposite direction, or at least that something else was happening."

APRIL 24: At the invitation of The Associated Press, General William C. Westmoreland addressed the annual AP luncheon in New York. Paul Miller, president of AP, explained: "A newsman after a story goes directly to the best available source."

APRIL 29: Albert Landon Morrow, Jr., of Georgia was filmed when a Viet Cong booby trap wounded him; his parents saw the film on television on April 30, a day before receiving Pentagon notification of the incident.

MAY 1: The Salisbury dispute had a brief replay when his Hanoi stories were denied a Pulitzer Prize. Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., leaked the story of the argument inside the advisory board to his newspaper, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

MAY 21: *The Evening Star* of Washington printed an editorial asking for a halt in the bombing of North Viet Nam, "without the slightest apology for the administration's conduct of the war up to now."

MAY 28: *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, ran a coupon asking readers send in a vote on the proper course in Viet Nam. From the Sunday paper's 525,000 circulation, 9,162 coupons were received, nearly two thirds favoring withdrawal.

JUNE 10: *Editor & Publisher* of this date reported that the new stylebook of AP and UPI had adopted "Vietnam" as the proper style, replacing "Viet Nam."

JUNE 23: Police and antiwar demonstrators clashed outside a Los Angeles hotel where President Johnson was attending a fund-raising dinner. Who was responsible for the violence? There was so little agreement that (1) television station KRLA donated more than \$1,000 to aid an investigation by the American Civil Liberties Union and (2) the *Los Angeles Times* printed a re-investigation of the incident on nearly three full pages on July 2.

JUNE 30: A South Vietnamese general barred correspondents of the *Chicago Daily News*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *Time* from a political briefing. The official spokesman explained that the session was for Premier Ky's friends only.

JULY 10: *Newsweek's* issue of this date was devoted entirely to the impact of the war on American life. A conclusion of its analysis of war journalism: "The daily, even hourly gushings forth of information in the American press are titanic, but the public is in danger of being surfeited, of walking along, like some teeny-bopper with her radio, in a constant cloud of unheard noise."

JULY 15: *The New Yorker* of this date published a long essay by Jonathan Schell, "The Village of Ben Suc," describing the destruction by Americans of a South Vietnamese hamlet.

JULY 16: The Associated Press offered an extensive investigation of the Tonkin Gulf incident of 1964, which led to the congressional resolution authorizing administration military involvement in Viet Nam. The story was based largely on information from crew members of the *Maddox*, a destroyer involved in the incidents. The *AP Log* noted that "usage was not as wide as hoped for . . ."

AUGUST 1: CBS News reported that President Johnson was "in the final throes of deciding on a major peace gesture to the North Vietnamese." The White House press secretary, George Christian, denied the report. End of story.

AUGUST 16: The *Bay City Times* of Michigan broke a story reporting a charge by a Navy veteran that Navy aircraft were dropping their bombs into the seas off North Viet Nam as a result of bombing-mission contests among commanders.

AUGUST 22: David Schoenbrun, second American correspondent admitted to North Viet Nam for purely journalistic purposes, reached Hanoi for a two-week stay. It resulted in a series sold to 175 newspapers and a major *Saturday Evening Post* article.

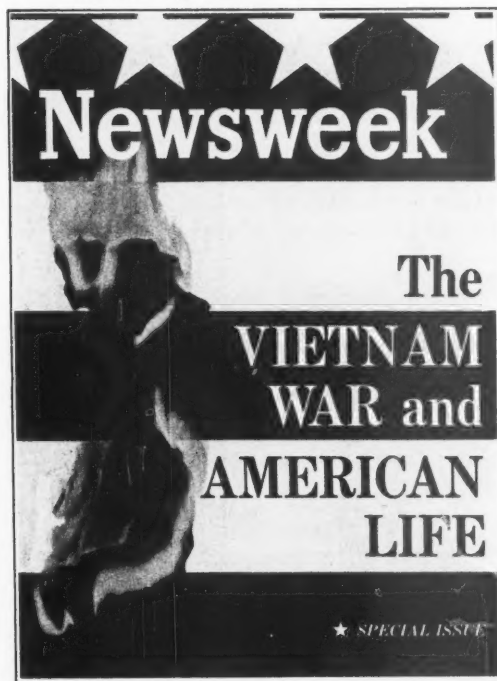
SEPTEMBER 3: Richard Harwood of *The Washington Post*, back from a four-month tour in Viet Nam, reported on the summer's conflict between reporters and government over the course of the war — reporters pessimistic, government

The Washington Post, June 30

U.S. Newswomen In Saigon Claim Discrimination

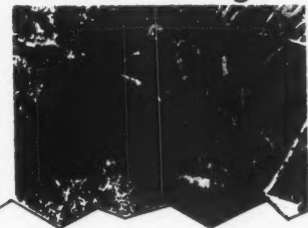
SAIGON, June 29 (AP)—Ten angry women correspondents protested to Gen. William C. Westmoreland today against proposed military rules barring them from staying overnight in "exposed areas."

Newsweek special issue, July 10



The New York Times, August 7

Vietnam: The Signs of Stalemate



By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Serialized in The New York Times
SAIGON, South Vietnam, Aug. 6—A little more than two years ago, on July 28, 1965, President Johnson committed the United States more decisively than ever to the war in Vietnam by announcing the deployment of 50,000 more American troops to this stricken corner of Southeast Asia.
Last Thursday, in response to the urgent entreaties of his commanders, Mr. Johnson disclosed that

Los Angeles Times, September 3

Vietnamese Brave Red Terror to Vote

Five Million Expected at 8,808
Polling Places; Saigon Is Calm

The Washington Post, September 3

Junta Cracks Down On Eve of Viet Vote

U.S. News & World Report, September 11



U.S. News & World Report

END OF VIETNAM WAR IN SIGHT?

Size-Up by the Army's
Chief of Staff,
Gen. Harold K. Johnson

From the Army's No. 1 officer comes one of the most encouraging appraisals yet on the Vietnam war. The Chief of Staff—Gen. Harold K. Johnson—finds the war going America's way on many fronts, despite adverse reports.

Vietnamese military commanders—and that caused a sort of suspension of action. This was in March, April and May of last year.

With the political settlement, there began to be evidence of an upturn in August of 1969. This has continued, and now there is a forward movement everywhere.

THE TURN TO SUCCESS—

When did the warabout actually come, as you say, to a close?

seeing progress. Harwood noted downbeat reports by Peter Arnett and Horst Faas of AP, R. W. Apple, Jr., and Thomas Buckley of *The New York Times*, Ward Just of *The Washington Post*, and Sol Sanders of *U.S. News & World Report*. Harwood listed disagreements over enemy casualty figures, and over the degree of government control in South Viet Nam as specific points of dispute. He wrote: "The private comments of most (although not all) of the correspondents in Vietnam: are even more pessimistic and more disillusioned than their stories reflect. . . . From all accounts, however, the President is getting few, if any, pessimistic reports from his subordinates in Washington or Vietnam."

SEPTEMBER 7: Secretary of Defense McNamara announced that the United States would build a barbed-wire, mined, and electronic barrier across the northern border of South Viet Nam. As recounted by Richard Rovere in *The New Yorker* of September 23, the announcement came as the climax to the maltreatment of an unnamed network correspondent: The correspondent had been told of the barrier weeks before by a Senator, had had the story denied by the White House press secretary, had had it reaffirmed by his source, had taped a story about it, had been summoned into the White House where the press secretary had given him categorical denial on "the highest authority," and had killed his story. Less than ten days later had come the McNamara announcement.

SEPTEMBER 17: Publication date of long story by Peter Arnett of the AP that causes consternation in Washington and Saigon. It began: "The dispirited South Vietnamese army, shot through with inefficiency, often lacks the will for combat and is increasingly prone to let the Americans do the fighting."

SEPTEMBER 17: *The New York Times* carried a story about the Writers and Editors War Tax Protest, a non-paying group led by Gerald Walker of the *Times's* own magazine. Although successful in crashing the news columns, the group was unable to persuade the *Times* to run a paid ad explaining its position.

SEPTEMBER 18: Harry S. Ashmore released the text of an article charging that the Johnson administration had sabotaged a peace initiative in Hanoi he and William C. Baggs had undertaken in January on behalf of the State Department. Columnists and commentators tut-tutted on the perils of having amateurs dabble in diplo-

macy. Ashmore asked, in a letter to *The Christian Science Monitor* printed on November 3: "Why did the State Department use me to forward any message at all?"

SEPTEMBER 25: *Newsweek* of this date contained an article signed by Everett G. Martin, chief of its Saigon bureau, critical of the South Vietnamese government. A government newspaper in response called him, among other things, "son of a bitch," and officials warned him that his office would be attacked. (On January 2, 1968, the South Vietnamese government told Martin to leave the country.)

OCTOBER 1: Saigon police, while quelling a student protest, beat two CBS correspondents, a cameraman, and two sound men. "Police turned on us," cabled John Laurence, "when we were taking pictures of them beating students."

OCTOBER 4: United States forces claimed a victory in the border battle of Con Thien. A "Press" department analysis in *Newsweek* said that the siege had gone on all summer but had been given major attention only after CBS and AP had brought back striking pictures.

OCTOBER 12: Secretary of State Rusk, in a news conference, discussed the threat he saw posed by China. The Chicago television critique, *WBBM-TV Views the Press*, offered this footnote on the Chicago papers: "The *Sun-Times* told us his principal point was that we are fighting in Viet Nam as a means of containing Red China. Only two paragraphs of the long story which followed made any mention of China, and Secretary Rusk was never quoted directly on the matter. The *Tribune* also covered the conference but printed its account of it back on Page Twelve, with no allusion at all to Red China."

OCTOBER 12: A *Life* editorial made public on this date called for a pause in the bombing of North Viet Nam. The "Press" departments in *Time* and *Newsweek* the following week carried articles noting that, in *Time's* words, "a gradual shift has taken place in the support that a majority of U.S. newspapers had been giving President Johnson's policies in Viet Nam."

OCTOBER 14: Paul H. Nitze, deputy secretary of defense, denounced the sale by Hanoi of film showing American prisoners in North Viet Nam. The chief customers were *Life* and NBC. (The latter paid \$12,000 for the film.) Both buyers labeled the pictures clearly as to source. Still, wrote

Newsweek, September 25

VIETNAM: LAST CHANCE?

BY EVERETT G. MARTIN, Saigon Bureau Chief

The U.S. is presented in South Vietnam today with one of those rare occasions when opportunity knocks a second time. The last opportunity came in 1962 immediately after the coup against Ngo Dinh Diem when, for a fleeting moment, the South Vietnamese were asked with a national spirit that could have been—had it been—converted into a social revolution and an all-out war effort. The recent Presidential elections, for all their imperfections, have brought the U.S. its second major opportunity of the year. There is no reason to believe that there will be a third.

In every U.S. official press release, a rather cynical explanation is given for the showing of the South Vietnamese. "This military confidence is better than it was," he says. "In fact, they are even more confident."

Now the South Vietnamese are asked to make a real attempt to weed out the bad officers in their ranks. Regrettably, the Vietnamese officers have given the U.S. someone that they will begin such a reform, but it should be observed that the Vietnamese have never demonstrated any ability to reform what the U.S. Army calls "command superstition"—a term meaning that officers are afraid to let their men



Everett Martin letter to the editor in Saigon Sunday News, October 8

'V.N.: Last chance'

Dear Sir: These my recent articles in *Newsweek* have aroused such strong Vietnamese anger that I believe it would be useful to examine the situation further with the aim of coming to a healthy understanding of each other.

First, I would like to say that I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it.

Second, I would like to say that I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it.

Third, I would like to say that I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it.

If you will analyze the present situation, I am sure you will see that the U.S. is in a very difficult position. The U.S. is in a very difficult position. The U.S. is in a very difficult position. The U.S. is in a very difficult position. The U.S. is in a very difficult position.

Fourth, I would like to say that I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it.

Fifth, I would like to say that I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it.

Sixth, I would like to say that I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it. I am not a member of the U.S. government. I am only a man trying to report the news as I see it.

Life, October 20

LIFE EDITORIAL

The Case for Bombing Pause

Number 7

For some 32 months of bombing North Vietnam, the U.S. has had no less than 100,000 deaths and 1,000,000 wounded. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear.

Successful negotiations. Secretary Rusk has said that if we do not stop the bombing, they will not stop the bombing. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear.

They are increasingly critical of the U.S. for not trying to stop the bombing. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear. The case for bombing pause is clear.

Los Angeles Times, October 15

ON A CERTAIN SATURDAY--STARK CONTRASTS

High Life in Saigon; Death in the Field

BY PETER ARNETT and KELLY SMITH

SAIGON—Dawn breaks over a sleeping city. Its first pink tones paint the red-tiled roofs of suburbs and wash the road gardens of fat hawks lining the Saigon River. Traffic hasn't started on the shadowy streets. A helicopter, its rotor blades clapping the cool morning air, streaks overhead toward the still remains of the north.

On this Saturday men and women play, dance and sing in Saigon. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy.

In Vietnam, the world of the field and the world of Saigon live side by side in stark contrast. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy.

No two days are exactly the same anywhere, especially in Vietnam. But this is the way it was that day. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy.

on the door to make sure his home is awake. The tented, lean-faced general gets up, brushes his teeth and shaves. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy.

Thirty miles northwest across the small board paddies into new brightness with morning light, Lt. William Howard of Corville, Ga., crawls out of a shallow foxhole dug into the bank of a country road. He brushes the sweat off his face with his hand. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy. The city is a place of life and joy.

October 17 photo in Oakland by Charles Blagdon, UPI, in National Press Photographer for December



Oakland Police: Anti-Photo

The Minneapolis Tribune, October 22



UPI, November 10

ADVISORY 11/10 NK
EDITORS: THERE WILL BE NO VIETNAM CASUALTY LIST TODAY DUE TO A GOVERNMENT HOLIDAY.

UPI/NEW YORK

GE1032PES 11/10

Story inspired by Westmoreland dinner, Los Angeles Times, November 24



12 Columbia Journalism Review

Jack Gould in *The New York Times*, "the emotional content of the pictures may invite a precipitous conclusion by some set owners that the images have at least a semblance of truth."

OCTOBER 17: During an antiwar demonstration at the Army Induction Center in Oakland, police roughed up or otherwise interfered with twenty-four newsmen (the total cited in an American Newspaper Guild report). Professional organizations charged deliberate assault; Lieutenant Governor Finch of California said: "From everything I can gather, the chief did his best to help coverage."

OCTOBER 21-22: The antiwar demonstration before the Pentagon produced the inevitable disputes over the size of the crowd and the amount of violence wrought on either side. The most exhaustive survey of the coverage was presented by Joseph Hochstein in the local magazine, *The Washingtonian*. Hochstein was critical of television: "The three television networks, in what was later described as a generous display of responsibility for the public safety, refrained from sending equipment for live coverage to the scene and restricted their broadcasting to regularly scheduled newscasts." Of the local newspapers, he wrote: "One reason five dozen reporters made little dent in this story is that newspapers tend to go to pieces when confronted with situations that are genuinely new; unless what the newsman observes happening can immediately be related to precedent and clearly understood experience, the result is likely to be aphasia or a lapsing into a frenzied lashing out at the strange and difference, so that ridicule of styles of hair and clothing is passed off as a substitute for reporting."

OCTOBER 24: CBS News broadcast the first part of "Where We Stand in Vietnam" (the second part was offered the following week). The program included considerable personal critical analysis, unusual in television, by Charles Collingwood.

NOVEMBER 3: *The Wall Street Journal* of this date carried the following item: "Pentagon publicists strive to play down U.S. casualties in Vietnam. Assistant Defense Secretary Goulding writes 100 personal letters to TV networks, wire services, newspapers. He stresses the difference between deaths and total casualties, notes that 85% of the wounded return to duty."

NOVEMBER 17: General William C. Westmoreland had dinner at the home of Charles W.

Corddry of *The Sun* of Baltimore with Phil G. Goulding and reporters from the AP, UPI, *The Christian Science Monitor*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Evening Star* of Washington. The result was a batch of highly similar stories on November 24 on anonymous officials' concern over blocking arrival of Viet Cong supplies through Cambodia. Not invited was George C. Wilson of *The Washington Post*, who revealed Westmoreland as the source on November 25. (Seymour M. Hersh wrote a detailed account of the incident for the December 9 *New Republic*.)

NOVEMBER 19: General Westmoreland and Ambassador Bunker criticized the Saigon news corps on NBC's *Meet the Press*. Bunker disagreed with accounts he had read of poor performance by the South Vietnamese army. Westmoreland said: "There is in Saigon a cynical element and from this cynical element grows a number of stories. This cynical element is inclined to take an isolated incident and write it up as a generalized situation and in my opinion this has indeed distorted the real situation that exists in Vietnam as a whole."

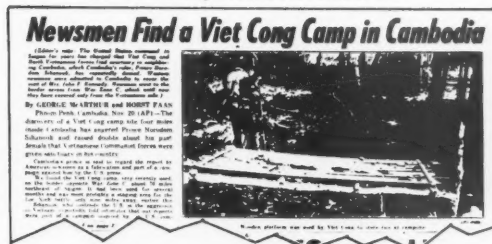
DECEMBER 1: An NBC documentary, "Same Mud, Same Blood," studied the role of Negro soldiers in Vietnam. Some reviewers found it less an analysis of integration than a record of the inferno of combat. For example, Stephanie Harrington in New York's *Village Voice*: "It...stands out as one of the most courageous and effective installments to date in the coverage of actual combat operations in Vietnam."

DECEMBER 6: Horst Faas, AP's best-known photographer in Vietnam, was wounded after being under fire more than five years.

DECEMBER 11: CBS News presented three minutes on the disposal of forty-eight Viet Cong bodies piled into a helicopter cargo net. The correspondent, Robert Schakne, said: "These had been living, breathing men yesterday. Today, they are just a sanitation problem." NBC, with similar footage available, declined to show the film. CBS received complaints from viewers and sparked a morning-long discussion of the episode on one Midwestern call-in radio program.

DECEMBER 27: Member editors of AP newspapers and radio and television stations voted the Vietnam war the top news story of 1967. UPI's poll showed the same result a few days later.

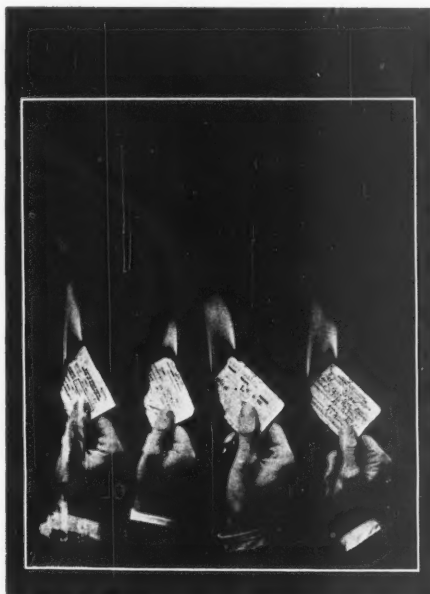
New York Daily News, November 21



The New York Times, November 25

**ALL U.S. REPORTERS
BARRED BY SIHANOUK**

Ramparts, December: editors' draft cards burning



CBS News, December 11



A magazine and a "vaccine"

In 1964, Morton Mintz, a reporter for *The Washington Post*, wrote *The Therapeutic Nightmare* (Houghton Mifflin), a book that described, among other matters, the dangerous involvement of news media in the uncontrolled distribution of publicity about unproved drugs. Last fall, a revised paperback edition of the book was been published by Beacon under the title *By Prescription Only*. One of the cases included in the new edition is reprinted here. The author comments: "Although the *Pageant* case is a particularly bad one, there are many other current disturbing stories about the performance of newspapers and magazines in handling drug news."

By MORTON MINTZ

The cover of the December, 1966, *Pageant* was a classic example of one way to build circulation: "AT LAST! SCIENTISTS REPORT / ANTI-CANCER VACCINE / Claim 12 dying patients saved in / first experiments! 75 doctors in 35 Ohio hospitals now attacking / all kinds of cancers / in hundreds / of cases / FIRST & EXCLUSIVE DOCUMENTATION." The impact of that cover and of the article inside, and of a second cover story and article in the January, 1967, issue—publisher Gerald A. Bartell knew a good thing when he had it—was staggering. The Food and Drug Administration knew of hundreds of cancer victims who came to Cleveland, but does not pretend to know of all who came. Many traveled great distances, in pain and with financial sacrifice. They had been given hope that their cancer was not terminal, and because the Government attacked that hope at its source the Government came to be hated.

In November, soon after the "AT LAST" cover appeared on the newsstands, R. C. Brandenburg, who for practical purposes is FDA's chief investigator, saw one on a stand in Falls Church, Virginia. He ordered an investigation made. It culminated in a petition by the Government for an injunction against further manufacture of the vaccine.

In a proceeding before District Judge James C.

Connell in Cleveland the petition was contested by the Rand Development Corporation and its president, H. James Rand, who in 1949 was acclaimed Cleveland's Outstanding Young Man and who more recently was named by the Cleveland Press Club as the City's Outstanding Man in the Field of Science. The transcript of the proceeding, which ended on March 2, 1967, when the Judge granted the restraining order, is the primary source of this account. I was aided also because in December, 1966, Howard Simons, an assistant managing editor of *The Washington Post*, had seen *Pageant* and asked me to see what it was all about. The upshot was a story published on December 27 which blew a whistle on a piece of ghoulish magazine pageantry. "The Government," the *Post* article began, "has refused to allow interstate shipment of an experimental anti-cancer vaccine that was given cover-story treatment in the December and January issues of *Pageant* magazine. . . ."

The refusal was based on the repeated and sustained failure of James Rand to comply with the requirement of the law that certain reports routinely required of drug makers be filed, to enable the Government to assure that proper and safe human testing procedures would be observed. "The mystery [of non-compliance] is explainable when we see," Judge Connell said in his opinion, "how cleverly stock market operations went on . . . how the stock went up every time the scientist involved [Rand] had an interview with anybody who had anything to do with publications."

To be understood, that is, the affair has to be viewed as an elaborate plan to drive up the price of Rand Development stock and to unload large blocks of shares before the bubble would burst. Within a few months in 1966 the price per share went from \$2 to \$3 to \$54; and large blocks were unloaded. The stock would have been retained in expectation of even higher prices, the Court and the Government reasoned, if James Rand and certain associates had, or really believed they had, a cure for "all kinds" of cancer. This was a venture that promised and yielded very large profits. It was intricate; it had to be built on a foundation of carefully timed and controlled publicity. Rand was well situated to obtain publicity, not only

because of his elite status in the community, but also because cancer victims within the boundaries of Ohio could be given the vaccine without restriction, so long as it was provided through physicians.

Rand thus brought into being a constellation of circumstances in which he could, and did, make claims of miraculous promise and even results; but he had to find, and he did, reporters such as *Pageant's* who would not check out the claims. In addition, there had to be a "cover" to argue his good faith and serious intent. And so an application to be allowed to test the vaccine in states other than Ohio was duly filed with the Division of Biologics Standards of the National Institutes of Health. While demonstrating good faith, the application also served as an incentive to a New York brokerage firm to agree to try to raise one million dollars in capital that would be needed, supposedly, to gear up for large-scale production.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, the application provided *Pageant* with a superficially authentic news peg (the Division and the FDA, as a matter of policy, do not publicize applications of the kind filed by Rand -- and for a very good reason; the law and implementing regulations were drawn precisely to prevent publicity being given to uses of a drug for which it has been inadequately tested). Rand, of course -- not the Government -- publicized the application. Biologics Standards found the application unsatisfactory and asked for more information. Rand stalled. In fact, he never did supply the required data. The reason, the Government suggested in court, was that he could not -- and had not intended to.

The first batch of vaccine was manufactured on May 7, 1966. Before the month was out, McCurdy, the United States Attorney, told the Court, "it was being injected into the bodies of human beings" -- although it had not yet been injected into a mouse or a rabbit or a dog to find out if an animal would survive.

"Then there commenced to be some news leaks," McCurdy said. Rand tried to interest Edwin L. Seitz, then the medical writer for *The Cleveland Press*. Although in the second *Pageant* article Rand would claim encouraging results on a thousand patients, "he wouldn't tell the Govern-

ment the name of one, and he wouldn't tell Ed Seitz the name of one," Judge Connell said. "He constantly annoyed Mr. Seitz trying to steam him up to write something that would help him, and Seitz was too ethical a writer to put anything in the newspaper which wasn't first in some fashion reported through proper medical or scientific circles, as a result of which Seitz lost the story."

In mid-August Rand made his last effort. He warned Seitz that he might be scooped. So be it, Seitz said. On August 19 the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* carried a 7-column headline saying, "Stock Jumps on Cancer Cure Rumor." It had indeed jumped -- from about \$16 on the eve of publication to \$54 on the day of publication. The story, signed by John E. Bryan, the financial editor, said the stock had been driven up from a recent price of about \$10 by investors who "bet on a new miracle" and by rumors spread by "cured" patients and their physicians. "A cure for cancer," Bryan said, "may be imminent."

Rand testified that he "would never go to *Pageant*" for publicity "because it is only one step above the *Police Gazette* . . . I think it's worse than that." But there was admitted into evidence an overtly made tape recording in which Rand said to a *Pageant* reporter, "I'm talking to you because the chairman of the board of my company, Mr. J. Elroy McCaw, has an agreement with your publisher, and that's why I'm talking to you."

The reporter was a free-lance named Lester David, of Woodmere, New York, who had been assigned to the story by Jim Hoffman, editor of *Pageant*. David interviewed Rand on September 6, 1966, in Darien, Connecticut. Rand testified that he granted the interview because David was "a top-flight medical writer." This estimate, the United States Attorney established, was not based on "Boys and Girls Together?", an article David wrote for *This Week*, but was based instead on a body of David's works specifically including the "World's First Clam Farm" in *Popular Science*, "Suicide Is Dangerous" and "How Old Is Your Spouse?" in *Coronet*, and "The Shocking Price of Parental Anger" in *Good Housekeeping*.

"He never exaggerated," Rand testified about David. "He was accurate." David was accurate when he testified that he got his material from

Rand. He asked the executive, "What types of cancer have responded, or are responding, to this vaccine, Mr. Rand?"

Rand replied, "As far as we know, all types."

The January, 1967, article in *Pageant* was done by William Barry Furlong, a Lake Forest, Illinois, free-lance who testified that the publications for which he has written include the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Reader's Digest*, *Harper's*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Sport*, and *Pageant*. On September 27, 1966, he flew to Cleveland, met a *Pageant* photographer at the airport, and over a period of a few days, interviewed Rand. He proved to be, the testimony brought out, a generous host; commingled with the conversation was a goodly amount of eating and drinking. Unfortunately, Furlong testified, he ran "into pretty much of a dead end on specific persons who had been tested with the vaccine," other than those who under Rand's selection processes had already been publicized. Rand "could not give me the names, he could not tell me on whom it had been tested," Furlong told the Court. Yet Furlong's *Pageant* article proclaimed, the Judge pointed out, encouraging early results in "a thousand or more patients." The presentation, Connell noted, had "the desired effect on the vast army of the desperately ill . . . the pilgrimage began to Cleveland in full."

Footnote: the case of Dr. Ayre

The Judge devoted much attention to Dr. J. Ernest Ayre, medical consultant to the Rand firm and medical director of the National Cancer Cytology Center, Inc., which has facilities in New York City and Miami, Florida. The vaccine was promoted for use in *terminal* cancer patients; Dr. Ayre had himself administered it to women with cervical tissue diagnosed as *pre-cancerous*. The vaccine was untested. Some of it was contaminated; some may have contained benzedine, a carcinogen. Dr. Ayre took 150 to 200 vials to physicians in various states and even to the Dominican Republic. Under the law the vials could not be taken out of Ohio; nor could they be tested elsewhere. Dr. Ayre knew, Judge Connell said, that every vial he gave was "a violation of law. . . . He said he administered vaccine to pa-

tients for psychological purposes . . . to make them feel good."

In June, 1966, news media received, and many derived stories from, a Cytology Center release headlined, "'THE PILL' FOUND SAFE / FOR USE BY PATIENTS WITH / EARLY CERVICAL CANCER." The suggested subheadline was, "Research by Cytology Center Eases / Fears of Millions Who Take / Oral Contraceptives." This highly questionable release was based on "a daring three-year study" on the "influence of the pioneer birth control pill on women predisposed to cancer of the cervix." The study was backed by G. D. Searle & Co., Inc., manufacturer of Enovid, and published in the July, 1966, issue of *Obstetrics and Gynecology* . . .

Dr. Ayre had a significant potential for remaining credible. This was demonstrated on May 10, 1967, when The Associated Press sent over the news wires an interview in which Dr. Ayre made the claim that tests with Enovid showed it will not cause, and may inhibit, uterine cancer. The next day, in New York City, Dr. Ayre delivered a paper to that effect. But the fact is that all known human carcinogens have a latency period of about a decade — far longer than the period involved in the "daring" studies made by Dr. Ayre. Therefore, the Advisory Committee on Obstetrics and Gynecology of the Food and Drug Administration has said, "any valid conclusion must await accurate data on a much larger group of women" than has been reliably studied.

On the same day that Dr. Ayre delivered his paper before a Pan-American medical group of which he was founding president, the FDA confirmed to me that it was investigating Dr. Ayre in connection with his transportation of the Rand vaccine across state lines. In Chicago, a spokesman for the Searle firm said it was evaluating Dr. Ayre's work to determine whether to renew a grant for research by the Cytology Center on Enovid. The grant, for an undisclosed amount, was made originally in 1963 and had been renewed each year since. The spokesman said the relation with Dr. Ayre, began when he approached Searle with potentially promising but preliminary test data indicating that Enovid had no effect on cancer of the cervix.

WASHINGTON LETTER

Rules for the game of ghost

In the cooperation—or conspiracy—between Washington reporters and unnamed government news sources, the public sometimes gets less candid news than it deserves

By SAMUEL J. ARCHIBALD

It was a page one story in many of the nation's major newspapers when they were able to report the political plans of President Lyndon B. Johnson as he approached his first full term in the White House. The stories on December 16, 1964, were based on a "reliable report" with no source quoted. They stated that the President wanted to "avoid high pressure tactics," that he planned no change in the war effort in Viet Nam, and that he was not going to "blitz Congress with any startling new programs," as *The New York Times* put it.

Unsophisticated newspaper readers must have marveled at the reporters' ability to get inside the mind of the President. However, the more sophisticated might have guessed that the stories actually were reporting what the President had said himself at a background news conference. If any of those unsophisticated readers kept clippings of those December news stories and looked at them a few weeks later, they would have marveled at the stupidity of the reporter. By then, of course, the President *had* used "high pressure tactics" to overwhelm Congress with "startling new programs." And by then the character of the war in Viet Nam certainly had changed.

The reporters were not wrong in what they reported. They were just being used as part of the President's political tactics. Certainly, when the background news conference was held in mid-December, the White House had plans all but

completed for the tremendous volume of important legislation which was started through the Congress early in January, 1965. Yet the stories said there would be no "startling new programs."

President Johnson was not using a new technique. He was employing the tried and true method of the government ghost—the "official spokesman," the "informed source," the "qualified observer" whom the public never sees and never can identify, but who plays a major part in the development of information which the public must use as a basis for the formation of opinion. The government ghost, like the poltergeist, is not there; he is unidentified and unidentifiable. Yet he must be there, for his effect is felt. Bells ring, cymbals clash, and the table—or sometimes the ship of state—rocks in response to his bidding.

The anonymous government spokesman certainly is not unique to the United States. In fact, the government ghost in the United States is but a pale copy of the anonymous spokesman in other countries. But in no other country do the people of a whole nation have such a direct part to play in the formation of government policy. Nowhere else is the amount and quality of information about governmental plans and actions so readily available, but possibly nowhere else is it so important that the information be valid, authoritative, and responsible.

It would be possible to do a column-inch count of the anonymous information disseminated by the government ghost and transmitted, often

without question or clarification, by his co-conspirators in the communication media, but to do so begs the question. Sometimes the source is unimportant. Who cares which clerk in a small government agency gave the reporter the statistics that he used to write a year-end story about the agency's operations? Sometimes the source is almost automatically cloaked by the reporter. Why not quote the Department of Commerce for a story on automobile safety, instead of quoting the department's publicity man, who did the leg work to make the story possible?

But many of the important, page-one news stories are based on anonymous sources. There are examples of the government ghost's use of the cloak of anonymity to determine public reaction—a technique called the trial balloon. Secretary of State Dulles was the anonymous source for a story in 1953 that his department was considering a Korean boundary settlement along the line of the narrow waist of the Korean peninsula. The trial balloon was shot down on Capitol Hill. So another anonymous source story came out of the White House denying that there was any consideration of a permanent division of Korea. This White House statement also was drafted by Dulles. The government ghost had denied his own previous story.

Many Presidents before Lyndon B. Johnson used the technique of cloaked news. Calvin Coolidge talked regularly—if not volubly—to reporters, but they were never permitted to quote him. Stories from many of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's news conferences were not for attribution to the White House. President Johnson was merely continuing a White House tradition with his background news conference of December 15, 1964—a tradition which apparently has trickled down from the office of the President through all branches of government.

The handling of President Johnson's background news conference in 1964 is a good exam-

Samuel J. Archibald, formerly head of the staff of the Moss Committee, is now executive director of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc., in Washington.

18 *Columbia Journalism Review*

Johnson Plans to Repeat Vietnam Strategy Parley

Undeterred by Critics of Guam Results, He Looks to a Session in Six Months to Stress Nonmilitary Side of War

By MAX FRANKEL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 25 — President Johnson plans to hold another big conference on Vietnam strategy within six months to keep pressing his view that the war can be ended only if military action is supported by effective political and economic measures.

To those who ask what the President accomplished at Guam early this week, he points out that he went to emphasize this policy, and to hold his principal aides accountable to it.

Disturbed but plainly not deterred by the criticism of his whirlwind journey across the Pacific, Mr. Johnson has let it be known that he will preside over similar meetings at least twice a year so long as he is running the war. He has described the meetings as essential to his efforts to promote co-

Inside the President's mind: Story in The New York Times of March 26, 1967, leaves specific source carefully unspecified.

ple of the professional and technical problems faced by the reporter who gets an invitation to attend a meeting with a government ghost. If he refuses to attend a background briefing or to use a not-for-attribution statement, he will lag behind his competition. By talking to his friends in the press corps, the Washington reporter eventually may gather the facts which came out of a background session he refused to attend, but it will be too late to catch up with the competition. More important than this technical, competitive problem is the professional dilemma. If the reporter refuses to accept the conditions laid down by the government ghost, he will be denied the information, and the readers of his publication or the listeners to his broadcast will lack, in turn, information which may be important to them.

On December 16, 1964, *The New York Times* answered these technical and professional questions by using the information from President Johnson's background news conference as though it came from the fertile mind of Tom Wicker, the *Times* reporter whose byline appeared on the story. *The Washington Post* did likewise under

the byline of Chalmers M. Roberts. But the careful, stolid Associated Press used a different approach. Its story — read by many, many more persons than read all of the first-hand accounts by reporters who attended the background briefing — reported President Johnson's plans for the coming session of Congress as the opinion of *The Washington Post* as written by Chalmers M. Roberts, "one of the newspaper's veteran Capital observers."

The government ghost is not a new phenomenon in the history of American politics. He existed in a somewhat more fleshed-out form in President Washington's administration. Thomas Jefferson, in his political battles with Alexander Hamilton, used editor Philip Freneau of the *National Gazette* as his outlet for political hatchet stories and trial balloons quoting "an unusually well-informed source." Over the years, as the nation progressed in political sophistication, so did the government ghost.

There are plenty of examples over the years of the government ghost's serving as a source of news stories basic to public understanding of the formation of government policy. There was, for example, the suggestion by a "top administration official" that monetary aid might be given to England and France in December, 1956, when their economies were sagging from the closing of the Suez Canal and the interruption of the Middle East oil supply. The day after the government ghost—presumably in the State Department—made the aid proposal, John Hightower, top diplomatic correspondent for *The Associated Press*, reported that "a high Treasury official" saw no need for grants to Europe. Who was doing what, and with which, and to whom? The facts of the problem were clearly set forth by the reporters, but the protagonists were cloudy. Was this merely a low-level argument between an idealistic State Department desk man arguing in the public prints with a penny-pinching Treasury Department bureaucrat, or was this — as it turned out to be in later stories — an important ideological conflict between Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey?

The government ghost is ubiquitous. He is not only in the White House fooling all of the people



Herblock in *The Washington Post*, May 9, 1967

some of the time, but he is also in the Cabinet, in the minor federal bureaus, in the states, the counties, the towns, and the cities. He is certainly in that most publicly responsible of bodies, the United States Congress. When the President proposed the closing, as an economy, of a number of Veterans Administration hospitals, he raised the ire of Senator Lee Metcalf and many of his colleagues. Senator Metcalf led a drive to make the VA prove the economic feasibility of abandoning each of the units marked for closing. The budget balancers backed down in a number of cases, but not without the help of the government ghost. President Johnson set up a special commission to digest the financial facts provided by Senator Metcalf, and the Presidential commission recommended against closing five of the original eleven hospitals tapped for abandonment. But the government ghost permitted no outright announcement of this capitulation. Instead, a "reliable source" was quoted for the facts. In this

case the ghost was not a cautious VA official but Senator Stephen Young, one of those who had joined Senator Metcalf in his drive.

The danger of the anonymous source technique of reporting is apparent not necessarily in the volume of stories quoting a government ghost but in the difficulty in determining importance of the stories. Inability to ascertain the quality of an official statement issued anonymously frustrates both the regular newspaper reader and the high-placed policy maker. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield explained his frustration over who is saying what and on whose authority when he complained to his Senate colleagues about "official but unnamed sources" who were reported in news stories to be redefining United States policy in Viet Nam:

"As one Senator," he said, "I would like to know in order to estimate the significance of the story... Are these officials in the White House? Are they in the Defense Department? The State Department? The CIA? Or are they scattered throughout the executive branch? Is it the head of a department who advances this new concept of Vietnamese policy? Or is it a chairwarmer at a southeast Asia desk somewhere or a guard at the front door of the Pentagon or the State Department?"

Senator Mansfield's complaint could also have been applied to the question of the use of nuclear weapons in the Viet Nam war. Just six months before, page-one newspaper space and prime broadcast news time were devoted to a discussion of possible use of small nuclear weapons against North Viet Nam. No official source was quoted for news stories declaring, as in the *Washington Star*, that the United States "will use whatever weapons may be necessary, including nuclear weapons, to attain its objectives in the war now under way in Southeast Asia." A major policy statement obviously had been made by someone but how authentic was it, how important was it?

The war in Viet Nam is a major source of anonymous news, some of it unimportant, some of extreme importance. Regular casualty reports are attributed to "United States military spokesmen" as are details of bombing raids and infantry

engagements. Often, however, stories which can have validity only because of the qualifications of the person being quoted are cloaked in anonymity.

In the spring of 1966, a political tempest brewed over the question of whether there was a shortage of bomb parts in Viet Nam. Representative Gerald R. Ford, Republican leader of the House of Representatives, charged that a shortage of bomb fuses, pins, and other bomb parts in Viet Nam was evidence of "shocking mismanagement" of the war. He cited a Columbia Broadcasting System news report relying on an "unimpeachable" source. Other news stories reporting the bomb parts shortage quoted "informed sources," "authoritative sources" and "Washington sources." The administration claimed that the reports of the shortages were misleading, and the source for this was "the Pentagon."

The battle of sources ended after two weeks when news stories, citing only "the Pentagon," reported that there had, in fact, been a shortage of some bomb parts and that 180 tons of parts and other air ammunition had been airlifted to Viet Nam "in order to correct temporary imbalances." The unidentified Pentagon source took issue with the unidentified CBS source on which Republican Congressman Ford had relied:

There have been no shortage of air munitions or their components which have adversely affected Viet Nam combat operations. No required sorties have been cancelled.

This masterpiece of weasel wording — ducking the question of bomb parts shortage by contending that, if it had existed, it did not delay operations — still left the public up in the air. They would not have been left hanging if the original charge and the final denial stories had quoted their sources.

What are the ground rules which the government ghost and his collaborators in the press follow? Bill D. Moyers, after he left the job of White House press secretary to become publisher of *Newsday*, discussed the problem at the American Newspaper Publishers Association convention. He warned that "the tendency to use background stories without attribution leaves the reader con-

fused about the source and therefore about the credibility of the information." But he offered no solutions.

Another former White House assistant came closer to serious consideration of the problem. McGeorge Bundy, security adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, spoke to the convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors after he left the White House to become president of the Ford Foundation. He argued that the honest, competent government official needs three things: first, the right of precise reporting of what he actually says; second, the right to fall back on the Lindley rule and, third, a knowledge of what the rules are in any given case. The Lindley rule — named for former *New York Herald Tribune* and *Newsweek* writer Ernest K. Lindley, who, as president of the Overseas Writers in Washington, set up not-for-attribution meetings between top government officials and opinion writers when World War II phased into the Cold War — permits an official to talk with a reporter without any attribution at all. If a reporter wants to report the official's ideas he must do so on his own initiative with no attribution—no euphemisms like "official sources" or "State Department experts."

A knowledge of this rule and an understanding of other ground rules for non-attributed news stories is surprisingly lacking in Washington, even among those who have to use the rules. In May, 1965, Congressman John E. Moss, chairman of the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, sent a questionnaire on the government's handling of anonymous news stories to forty-one government agencies. A similar questionnaire was sent to a group of Washington reporters; a number of other reporters were interviewed by the Moss Committee staff. The agencies were asked to list the ground rules for meetings between reporters and the government ghost. They were asked, specifically, to define the Lindley rule and other standard ground rules such as "not for attribution," "backgrounder," and "deep backgrounder." Only five government agencies admitted that they used, or understood

Ghostly comment on McNamara

The announcement of the impending departure of Robert S. McNamara as Secretary of Defense evoked a rich variety of anonymous source material.

Los Angeles Times, November 28, 1967:

...ne for him to take office.
All of these things, if official sources can be believed, make it somewhat uncertain whether the transfer from the Pentagon to the bank will be consummated.
The general feeling in Washington Monday night was, however, that everything would work out in

The Sun, Baltimore, December 1, 1967:

...etary's ...
Conceding there would be awkward aspects in the Secretary's remaining, still-indeterminate tenure, Government sources pointed out that the military program and budget for next year will be President Johnson's, not just the Defense secretary's.

The New York Times, December 5, 1967:

...or surprise, even to high ranking officers.
Authoritative sources said that neither Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker nor Gen. William C. Westmoreland, who recently returned here from consultations in Washington, were told of the McNamara retirement before it was announced.
Key members of the House Armed Services Committee who have just left Vietnam after a brief visit also had no warning of the change.
Nevertheless, informed sources reject reports that several members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were about to request retirement because of their opposition to administration policies and that the McNamara shift was intended to placate them.
It can be said, with certainty, ... non- ... the ...

the definition of, the Lindley rule or the "deep background" rule, which is synonymous with the Lindley rule. The reporters were asked to put a check mark in front of the various not-for-attribution rules with which they were familiar and to explain their understanding of the meaning of each rule. Only three reporters provided the standard definition: absolutely no attribution, with the information provided by the government official reported as though it came from the reporter's own mind. Some reporters, without defining the Lindley rule, called it a vicious practice and "enforced plagiarism." Even Ernest K. Lindley himself, now a special assistant to the Secretary of State, said the anonymous source system can be abused if used by reporters for hard news stories instead of by opinion writers for think pieces.

All of the government agencies that admitted use of the Lindley or "deep background" rules and nearly all of the reporters agreed on the standard definition. All government agencies and all reporters also clearly understood the meaning of "off the record" applied to interviews. The definition—that the information is not to be used in any form, with or without attribution, that no story is to be written—is certainly not as well understood on Capitol Hill. Many members of Congress will speak out at public hearings, with reporters present, and then direct that their remarks be "off the record." A statement at a public hearing is public property and the Congressman can control only the official transcript. Congressmen, of course, fall into the habit of thinking their public remarks can be privately controlled, for each day's public debate on the floor of the House and Senate is edited by each participant. Sometimes the statements printed in the *Congressional Record* bear no relation to the actual off-the-cuff statements on the floor.

While all government agencies—at least in the Executive Branch—and all reporters seem to agree on the meaning of "off the record," there is little clear understanding of the other ground rules for playing the game of government ghost. The term "not for direct attribution" is understood by 40 per cent of the agencies to mean that a statement can be attributed to the specific agency but not to the individual making it. But 40 per cent of

the government agencies think the term means that the information is not to be published pending an official announcement, while 20 per cent define the term to mean that a statement cannot be attributed to either the agency or its officials.

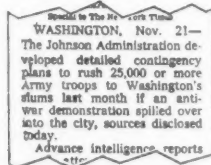
There is even less agreement in the government on the meaning of the term "background." The definitions range from the requirement that the government statement cannot be attributed to any source to the definition of "background" information as advance details for future stories. There is also some variation in reporters' understanding of such terms as "not for direct attribution" and "background."

The coordination—some would call it conspiracy—between reporters and officials that creates the government ghost is apparent in answers to the Moss Committee questions on the purpose for transmitting government information anonymously. Sixty per cent of the agencies said they did so to keep reporters from writing inaccurate stories. This was a valid or semi-valid purpose, in the opinion of 64 per cent of the reporters answering the questionnaire. None of the reporters felt that it would be improper for government spokesmen to demand anonymity if the purpose were to prevent complicating an investigation, negotiation, or diplomatic conference, but 45 per cent questioned the validity of putting out anonymous stories to counter false information. The purposes which the government agencies listed for anonymous-source stories ranged from the need to prevent inaccurate stories to the necessity of helping over-burdened reporters and the need for low-level spokesmen to maintain their contacts with the press.

The great majority of Washington reporters who were interviewed by Moss Committee staff members as the questionnaire was being developed had little love for the government ghost. They regarded anonymous government news stories as an evil, but a necessary one. They knew they were being used by government officials, but they could offer no clear alternatives. Only 18 per cent of those reporters who answered the questionnaire felt that the volume and quality of news and interpretation stories would be "seriously" diminished if the government ghost were

eliminated, but 64 per cent felt that the flow would be "somewhat" diminished.

An earlier committee study of anonymous government news stories, based on comments from editors and officials of news organizations, concluded that the anonymous spokesman technique can be a useful tool to make more information available to the public or it can become a self-serving device to convey distorted information. The competency and dedication of reporters and editors was the only antidote offered for the potential poison of the government ghost. Those quoted in the early study contended that a reporter's knowledge of his anonymous source—knowledge of the validity of the source's information and the responsibility of his position—was



The most anonymous source: from The New York Times, November 22, 1967

adequate protection against abuse of the anonymous spokesman technique. And they emphasized the necessity for going along with the government ghost's penchant for anonymity. Julius Frandsen, long-time head of the Washington bureau of United Press International, explained:

A lot of skulduggery in Government and in Congress would never come to light if everything had to be attributed. Employees often can't afford to risk their jobs by talking for attribution.

No code of ethics for the handling of anonymous government news has ever been developed and the consensus of the responses in the 1964 report was "that precise canons of ethics cannot be developed and that there is little possibility of handling non-attributed news other than the method generally in use." This pessimistic conclusion is not wholly valid. Although a code probably could not be agreed upon by the communication media, and even if agreed upon could not be enforced, the handling of anonymous government news stories certainly can be improved. One obvious necessity is agreement upon a standard set of definitions for the terms which reporters

use to cloak the government ghost. This would be a step toward ground rules—even if not a code of ethics—which would at least bring some uniformity to the confusion of anonymous government voices in Washington. The definitions of the terms most often used by the government ghost and reporters are:

¶ Off-the-record: the information is not to be published in any way, with or without attribution; no story is to be written, although a reporter is free to inform his editorial superiors of the facts.

¶ Lindley Rule: stories may be written but there must be absolutely no attribution; the story must appear to come from the reporter himself.

¶ Not for attribution: the remarks of the government spokesman can be quoted, but not as coming from the individual himself; a cloaked source such as "high government officials" or "Navy experts" or "the Department of Defense" is agreed upon between the spokesman and the reporters.

The use of other terms merely confuses. Most often abused is the term "background" which is actually the generic term covering the anonymous news technique. The use of the "Lindley Rule" in some agencies and the synonymous term "deep background" in others adds further confusion, as does the misunderstanding of the term "off-the-record" on Capitol Hill.

A clarification of terms could be initiated by any of the organizations of reporters in Washington—the Standing Committee of Correspondents accredited to the House and Senate Press Galleries, the various press clubs or the organizations of correspondents accredited to the White House or the many government agencies. Associations of editors and publishers might also discuss the anonymous news technique, as should schools of journalism and departments of political science.

The quality of information is badly strained by the anonymous cooperation between the communications media and the government. Yet few practitioners or teachers have discussed the problem seriously. If the government ghost is going to continue in business, with or without ground rules, present and future practitioners of government administration and of reporting should learn how to use the technique—and how not to.

America's most widely read magazine is bound to represent, to an extent, the standards and practices of American journalism. Thus, starting with Reo M. Christenson's analysis of Reader's Digest public affairs articles in the winter, 1965, issue, the Review has occasionally examined Digest performance. The two instances below continue this scrutiny.

Two Digest cases

1. A warning from the mailman

Timothy J. May does not often write letters to editors. That may be fortunate for the editors. For when he writes, he means business.

May's recent letter to the editor of the *Reader's Digest* may never be printed — the *Digest* does not print letters from readers — but it may leave an imprint on the policies of the *Digest* as well as many other magazines and newspapers.

May is the general counsel of the United States Post Office Department. He was writing to Hobart Lewis, president and executive editor of the *Digest*, to say that an advertisement in the November, 1967, *Digest* "was inconsistent with the spirit and intent" of laws governing publications with second class mailing privileges.

The ad that bothered May was an eight-page "pull-out" containing several articles in the traditional type and format of *Digest* articles. The articles touted the research, brand names, and pricing policies of the prescription drug industry. The ad, the first of four in a \$1 million series planned by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, was introduced by a half-page teaser notice advising *Digest* readers to:

*Detach
and keep
this
"magazine
within a
magazine"*



On top of the first page of the detachable section was the phrase: "Special Advertising Section." (These three words were missing from one million reprints distributed to doctors' waiting rooms, hospital reading rooms, and members of the general public who wrote in.)

The only indication to readers of the *Digest* that the section was a paid advertisement was the three-word notice on the first page and the following phrase in small print at the bottom of the last page:

*First in a Series Published as a Public Service by the
Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association
Washington, D.C. 20005*

Charges of deception were voiced by several Senators at a hearing of the antitrust and monopoly subcommittee of the Select Senate Committee on Small Business. The subcommittee had been investigating drug industry prices and prescription practices.

The subcommittee chairman, Gaylord Nelson, Wisconsin Democrat, called the ad "calculated deception . . . designed to avoid disclosing that it is in fact an advertisement." He accused the drug organization of trying to appear as a "non-industry philanthropic group." Senator Mark Hatfield, Oregon Republican, read another article type of ad in the same issue for a hemorrhoid drug and called for an investigation of the *Digest's* "entire advertising policy."

Nelson cited a report from the Food and Drug Administration saying that the articles themselves were misleading and that one of them "totally disregarded historical fact."

But this was not what bothered the Post Office Department's general counsel when asked for a ruling by Senator Nelson. May told Nelson that he had informed the *Digest* that "the manner of marking the advertising of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association in your November, 1967, issue was inconsistent with the spirit and intention of the above cited statutes and regulations. Accordingly, the practice as exemplified in this particular advertisement should be discontinued."

The letter cited Section 4367 of Title 39 and Section 1734 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code entitled "Marking of Paid Reading Matter."



An ailing man
was switched
to a "generic" drug
and landed in the hospital...

The Anonymous Drug That Hospitalized a Patient

SEVERAL YEARS AGO a patient was told by his physician that he had diabetes. A brand-name drug specific for this disease was prescribed and for almost a year he lived a productive life, going about his business in a state of reasonably good health. Then one day, suddenly, seemingly without cause, his disease went out of control. His fasting blood sugar level rose rapidly. Near collapse, he was rushed to a hospital. Once there the medical mystery deepened: soon after his arrival at the hospital the patient began to recover quickly—almost miraculously! What had happened?

According to the patient's physician, Dr. Arnold K. Carter, of Windsor, Ontario, the first clue came from the patient himself who mentioned undissolved tablets in his stool. Dr. Carter sent them, along with some unused tablets, to

the makers of the drug he had originally prescribed, for analysis and explanation. After putting them through laboratory tests the firm reported that these tablets were not made by them. Indeed, they contained the proper amount of tolbutamide, the therapeutic ingredient which helps to control diabetes. But—they did not dissolve when subjected to simulated stomach and intestinal juices or tests to imitate the processes of the human body. It was then that Dr. Carter remembered a telephone call he had received from his patient's druggist several days before. The pharmacist, asked by the patient to refill his prescription with a cheaper product than the physician had prescribed, obtained permission from the doctor to dispense another product called only by its "generic" name. But, whoever had made the substitution...

Page of Digest drug supplement

The latter section says:

"Whoever, being an editor or publisher, prints in a publication entered as second-class mail editorial or other reading matter for which he has been paid or promised a valuable consideration, without plainly marking the same *advertisement*, shall be fined not more than \$500" (italics in original).

Why was the *Digest* not prosecuted? May said it was because the law did not specifically require the word "advertisement" on each page. He said that the department had drawn up a regulation specifying this practice but that it had never been published officially in the *Federal Register*. He felt that this put the department in a weak position to prosecute. He said the regulation would be published soon.

Asked about special advertising sections in newspapers containing paid editorial copy along with the ads, May replied that his office had recently advised *The Washington Post*, in response to an inquiry from that paper, that each page of such supplements must be marked "advertisement."

May acknowledged that newspapers and magazines "often" run advertisements in the form of articles and that they do not always comply with the law by marking them "advertisement." But he said his office did not have the personnel to do

monitoring and would not be doing any in the future.

He said that his office relied on the Postal Inspection Service and on complaints from the general public. But he conceded that few people seem to be aware of the law and that complaints have been few.

Of the *Digest*, he said, "I have no doubt that the *Reader's Digest* knew precisely what the law was. They have people who spend full time just on mailing operations."

A few days before the Postal Office letter to the *Digest*, the Federal Trade Commission issued a statement advising that the word "advertisement" should appear on each page of an advertisement resembling a news or feature article. But it added that in some cases this was not enough to avoid deception.

"In some instances," it said, "the format of the advertisement may so exactly duplicate a news or feature article as to render the caption 'advertisement' meaningless and incapable of curing the deception. The commission believes that it is in the public interest that publishers and advertisers avoid any possible deception by not placing advertisements whose format simulates that of a news or feature article. Inclusion in such an advertisement of a byline, particularly when accompanied by the writer's title (such as 'feature writer' or 'editor') may also mislead readers as to its nature. Accordingly, the Commission cautions advertisers to avoid use of such devices in their advertisements when they may tend to mislead readers."

The FTC statement applies to all publications, whether or not they are mailed with second-class privileges, but it is the Post Office Department that may cause the greatest concern to newspapers and magazines, for most of them have second-class privileges, and many have not been complying with the letter of the law.

The *Digest's* own performance in 1967 was spotty. Last April, the magazine ran a twenty-page section for Celanese clothes with some pages appearing to be articles. Each page had the words, "Special Advertising Section," at the top.

Yet in May a twelve-page section appearing as a pictorial travel guide to Expo '67 had the

words, "Special Advertising Section," only on the first page.

In July, a one-page ad for Anacin Tablets appeared as an article, with the trade name only in the body type. There was no other indication that it was an ad.

In October, the *Digest* ran a one-page ad for Geritol in the format of an article and with the word "advertisement" at the top.

The *Digest* frequently uses the editorial technique to sell itself. In September, it ran a full page article entitled "One of Our Best Opportunities," by Emile Kief, for the purpose of selling the *Digest* to schools. The December issue carried a subscription promotion appearing as an article by Joan Crawford and entitled, "A Very Special Gift."

In addition, there are numerous other layouts where it may not be easy for a reader to tell whether he is reading an advertisement or article, especially when illustrations are involved.

Although federal agencies cannot police all publications for such practices, they can draw lines beyond which publishers should not go. The day apparently has arrived when ads can no longer with impunity be dressed up as news or features without plainly marking them for what they are.

ARTHUR E. ROWSE

Arthur E. Rowse is a Washington writer who specializes in consumer matters.

2. Attack on the taxman

On a chilly, drizzling Monday in December, 1967, 500 elderly persons held a protest in front of the Pan Am Building in New York City. The protestors, and their counterparts in Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, were not decrying the war, the draft, or other current causes célèbres. Instead, they were members of the National Council of Senior Citizens, picketing the offices of the *Reader's Digest* for

publishing what they called "a literally untrue story." The article, which appeared in the October issue, claimed that social-security reserves were rapidly diminishing and that the entire system was in danger of collapse.

Some may find it odd that the elderly — who make up a significant segment of the *Digest's* 15,000,000 readers — would be angered enough by an article to carry protest signs in the rain. But the social security article, written by Charles Stevenson, is only the latest in a long series of public affairs articles in the *Digest* that purport to be factual analysis, but actually contain highly debatable conclusions.

One such article, which stirred as much furor as the social security story, appeared in the August issue of the *Digest*. Entitled "Tyranny in the Internal Revenue Service," it created a brouhaha that still hasn't subsided. The author, formerly a reporter on the *Washington Evening Star*, John Barron, claimed to have spent six months, traveled 5,800 miles, and held 200 interviews. He found that "today evidence from all over the country shows that in the name of collecting taxes IRS has bullied, degraded and crushed countless innocent citizens — while unaccountably favoring others."

The IRS responded to the *Digest's* attack by issuing a twenty-nine-page case-by-case rebuttal. The *Digest* cranked out a thirty-seven-page rebuttal to the IRS rebuttal. The IRS finally de-escalated the documentation with a one-page statement that said it would stand on its previous account.

Culling any nub of fact from the mound of material issued by both sides is a difficult matter. Nevertheless, it appears that the *Digest's* alarming conclusions are misleading.

The article cites sixteen cases in which citizens were allegedly treated unfairly by the IRS. Some of the causes may be true accounts of abuses and mishandling on the part of the IRS, which, as Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen pointed out before a Congressional subcommittee, handles 70 million income returns every year. Other examples cited by the *Digest*, however, tend to ignore inconvenient facts that would give the reader a different impression of what actually happened.

For example, the *Digest* claimed that an IRS agent in Richland, Missouri, "confronted a waitress with a \$275 tax claim. When she protested, the agent threatened to confiscate and 'dispose of' her old car unless she paid up *that day* [*Digest's italics*]. Near tears, she went to see [a local bank president] who agreed to lend her the \$275 necessary to hold the IRS off. Only after she spent days getting a sworn affidavit to document her deductions did IRS admit she didn't owe the bill which it tried to intimidate her into paying."

What the article neglects to mention, as the IRS later pointed out, is this: The waitress and her husband had failed to supply information requested by the service regarding exemptions they claimed for dependents. Because of their failure, they were assessed the \$275 and so informed on July 24, 1964. The IRS mailed additional requests for payment on September 29, 1964, and February 16 and March 16, 1965. The IRS then assigned the case to an officer who found no one home on May 7 and June 14, but did locate the waitress on July 19. At that time she said she would try to borrow the money and would bring her tax return preparer to the IRS office on July 21 to substantiate her exemptions. The appointment was not kept. On September 1, the IRS official left a note at the home of the waitress asking her to phone him. She did and an appointment was made for September 7, but on that day the tax preparer was ill. The meeting was rescheduled for September 14, but that appointment also was not kept.

The IRS then, on October 5, filed a lien and notified the waitress that it was prepared to seize her car and truck. The seizure was not made because she said she would try to get a bank loan.

The president of the bank making the loan told revenue officers the payment would arrive on October 11, but when it did not arrive on October 12, agents were sent to get the check or seize the car and truck. This was the day referred to in the article.

The check was finally received on October 14, nearly 13 months after the first notice. The waitress later provided proof of her exemption and a refund was made by the IRS.

One wonders if the impression of immediate confrontation that the *Digest's* account gives is a fair one. Stating that the IRS would "dispose of her old car unless she paid up *that day*" gives an inaccurate impression when we see that IRS made numerous attempts first to get the proper information from her and then the payment.

In the case of a union leader once convicted of extortion, the *Digest* states that the "IRS settled his unpaid tax debt of \$40,219.84 for a token \$17,000 plus an agreement that he would pay more if his income rose." The article quotes the IRS as stating that there was "no prospect of any material increase" in the union leader's income, and cites political donations that he made to the Democratic National Committee.

All of this leaves the reader with the impression that the IRS allowed him to get away for paying only \$17,000 of his tax debt of \$40,219.84. But in fact, the \$17,000 was the first payment, which was followed by a payment of \$3,586.14 on May 18, 1966, and a final payment of the entire remaining balance, including penalties and interest, on October 25, 1966.

It may be that the union leader was accorded partial treatment because of political donations, but to leave the reader with the impression that he did not pay his tax debt when in fact he did is a disservice to the truth.

This situation is further exacerbated by the fact that the *Digest* refuses to print responses from those who disagree with its conclusions. However, in the case of the Internal Revenue Service article, the *Digest* recognized the existence of the controversy with a boxed statement in its November, 1967, issue. The box defended the article, but at least included a quoted statement from the IRS commissioner.

Certainly, as governmental and other institutions continue to grow larger, there is a greater need for thorough investigative reporting. But that reporting needs balance more than it does a prosecutor's zeal.

In this case, it is obvious that while no one loves the taxman, he deserves to be treated with more fairness than he was by the *Reader's Digest*.

DON STILLMAN

SURVEY

Trapped

Nobody can accuse today's editors of not being with it. Say "mini-skirt" or "LSD" and they know that it is news. Thus, on the week-end of January 13-14, 1968, many newspapers and broadcasters used the stories shown here. (The clippings are from the *Des Moines Register* of January 13 and the *Boston Globe* of January 14.) The mini-skirt story apparently found its original outlet in *The Washington Post*; The Associated Press claimed credit for the LSD story.

6 Students Blinded

LSD Secret Kept

United Press International

HARRISBURG, Pa. — A state official said Saturday that six male college students blinded permanently by staring at the sun after taking LSD were residents of Pennsylvania.

Norman M. Yoder, state commissioner for the blind, said the six, now undergoing rehabilitation, lived in the state and attended the same Pennsylvania college at the time of the incident.

Yoder said drug control authorities made an investigation of the case but did not make public the results because of the "terrible psychological impact" on the boys and their families.

"The remorse and shame they were, and still are, suffering is incomprehensible," Yoder said.

"It has left all concerned with the case with one major purpose — the attempt to rebuild six shattered lives."

Yoder, asked why the case was kept quiet for 18 months, said there was "no attempt to withhold information."

Yoder did say, however, "the students and their families asked not to make it public. They had a tough way to come."

"I didn't anticipate it would be revealed now. We were dealing with six lives and the impact of blindness."

The story was revealed in Washington against Yoder's wishes.

He agreed earlier publication might have prevented others from taking LSD but said, "on the other hand, we would have had just what's happening now. Everyone wants to know the names and the school. If I reveal anything there go the kids."

"I can best compare what (the college students did in the days of prohibition," he said. "There were six students) did with what many a lot more went blind from drinking booze, even though they were warned that it could cause blindness. The LSD did not blind these boys. It was what they did under its effects."

In a similar incident last May, four students at the University of California at Santa Barbara suffered loss of their reading vision by staring at the sun after taking LSD.

The six Pennsylvania students — all junior classmen — were blinded totally after they took LSD and relaxed in a sunny meadow near the school campus. They apparently lost consciousness without closing their eyes and the rays of the sun burned their retinas while in this condition.

Yoder said the students lay staring at the sun for six to eight hours. When found by classmates, all were sightless.

The six are now planning for a future in the fields of teaching, social service and rehabilitation. Yoder said.

Warn Girls That Miniskirts And Cold Cause Fat Legs

By Mike Causey
in The Washington Post

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Federal Housing Administration here has warned its women employees that miniskirts can cause fat legs. Health officials say that girls who wear the mod styles in frigid winter weather must also have fat heads.

In a bulletin to female workers, the FHA Health Division said:

"Warning: Skirts and health. Because of the prevalence of mini and microskirts in the agency, we feel it necessary to call attention to the health (and beauty) problems that this fashionable garb presents in cold weather.

"The legs of young women (under 35 years of age) respond quite rapidly to exposure to cold temperatures. The bodily response is a quick build-up of successive layers of fatty molecules under the skin areas of the thighs, knees, calves and ankles of female legs."

Once a government-girl gets

fatty molecules around her legs,

FHA warned, she is probably

doomed to walking around on

pillars, rather than trim limbs.

"Such fat buildup is almost

impossible to remove without

extraordinary exercises that

most women find difficult to

maintain," it noted.

In addition to the loss of fem-

inine beauty, the agency said,

short skirts can also promote

frostbite and chills.

Other agencies have consid-

ered some sort of ban or at

least a stern warning, about the

dangers of miniskirts this time

of year. But officials are appar-

ently afraid it would violate

employees' rights, or the Free-

dom of Information Act.

The only trouble with the stories is that both turned out to be complete hoaxes.

Cleveland: an editorial voice trembles

The day after Democrat Carl B. Stokes, a Negro, had edged past Republican Seth Taft to become mayor of Cleveland, Scripps-Howard's *Cleveland Press*, Ohio's biggest daily newspaper, acknowledged his election with an editorial and cartoon. The editorial, hardly breathless with enthusiasm despite the paper's pre-election endorsement of Stokes, nevertheless noted: "To the nation and the world, he is the symbol of the emerging Negro, advancing politically, economically and otherwise in America."

Continuing to assess Stokes's hairline victory in a sociological context, the newspaper's cartoon

depicted the dapper 40-year-old mayor-elect, his arms outstretched, standing between the pages of an American history book. The cartoon was captioned: "A New Chapter."

To those who had puzzled over the evolution of the *Press's* editorial policy on this fall's furious mayoral campaign in Cleveland, the "new chapter" assigned to Stokes also suggested the conclusion of a dreary chapter in the life of the *Press* itself.

Until this election, the *Press* had prided itself, particularly under its former editor, Louis B. Seltzer, in being a shaker and mover in Ohio politics. Both by forceful editorial persuasion and gritty behind-the-scenes involvement, the *Press* had helped elect mayors and governors.

Its editorial influence ranged the state via the Ohio Press Service, a Scripps-Howard wire service operating out of a bureau across the street from the Ohio Statehouse in Columbus. The service is plugged in to the three Scripps papers in Ohio (Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati) as well as several independent client papers. In 1962, with the plays being called by *Press* editors in Cleveland, the Scripps network singlehandedly maneuvered a liquor "scandal" in Governor Michael V. DiSalle's administration that contributed, despite a paucity of supporting evidence, to DiSalle's defeat by the *Press's* choice for governor, James A. Rhodes. So close has been the relationship between Rhodes and the Scripps bureau that he has been known to call the bureau personally shortly after daybreak to make sure that a certain news release has made the morning wire.

Although the *Press* had also carefully shepherded former Mayor Ralph Locher into office, this year's campaign, it developed, was another matter insofar as the *Press's* editorial muscle was concerned. Unlike the morning *Plain Dealer*, which plumbs the corners of the state for its circulation, the *Press* is almost solely a fat hometown newspaper that caters to the tastes of Cleveland's many nationality groups. The fact that these groups were most certainly going to be incensed by the candidacy of a Negro put the *Press* in a delicate position, particularly during the three-way Democratic primary, which was

settled October 3 by Stokes's defeat of Mayor Locher and a former mayor of suburban Lakewood, Frank Celeste.

The *Press's* balancing act in pondering the three primary candidates was all the more remarkable in view of the *Plain Dealer's* solid front-page editorial endorsement of a candidate, Stokes, on September 3, a full month before the primary. Indeed, it was not until September 26 that the *Press* raised its voice on an election that was just a week off. For the *Press* it was the beginning of a week of incredible confusion.

The paper's first editorial declared that "what this community needs most from this year's mayoral election is a major change in City Hall." Clearly, Ralph Locher would not do. ("The *Press* had hoped that Mayor Locher, a man of high principles and dedication, might quicken the pace, and bring change to City Hall. But it seems unlikely that he will.")

That left either Stokes or Celeste, and either, said the *Press*, would bring "major change." Stokes was "vocal and informed" — but as mayor of Lakewood "Celeste produced what he had promised." So the primary resolved itself "to a question of Celeste's experience and record of performance against the untested but intriguing promise which Stokes offers."

The editorial continued:

Certainly the surest course is to go with experience, and by this measure the soundest and wisest choice is Frank Celeste.

But if the mood of this community is to reach for the more sweeping change which Stokes offers, with the risks of inexperience, then this too is acceptable.

Thus The *Press* commitment in this Primary is to change, rather than totally to either of the challengers. For either would bring change.

With all the negatives reserved for Stokes, many observers put the *Press* in Celeste's column. The next day the *Press* seemed to confirm these suspicions:

In its observations on the Democratic Primary election on this page yesterday, The

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Press indicated its belief that Frank Celeste was the more experienced of Mayor Locher's two challengers. This experience is impressive and measurable and should not be overlooked in the heat of this campaign. Unfortunately, it has been.

The editorial went on to cite Celeste's "effective record of achievement," closing with an urgent appeal to voters "to take another long look" at Celeste's "impressive record."

This apparently settled the question beyond doubt. Yet the very next day the *Press* was at it again — but this time the pendulum was swinging to Stokes: "Experience flows from opportunity and this is, of course, what Carl Stokes seeks. And he clearly has done his homework, both as a candidate and as a state legislator." And though Celeste had the advantage of experience, if Stokes were elected "there still is every reason to believe he could put a sound administration together."

Then came a startling maze of words: "But if Celeste or Seth Taft is the winner, then hopefully either would find a way to give experience in City Hall to the kind of leadership which Stokes typifies."

Did this mean that the *Press* had tipped its hand on a later endorsement of Taft in the general election? People wondered, but not for long. In later editions the same day, the *Press* deleted Celeste's and Taft's names from the sentence and rewrote "But whoever is the winner should find a way..."

After three successive days of mystifying editorials that suggested deep agony at the *Press*, the paper rested Friday and Saturday. Then on Monday, the day before the primary, the *Press* took final stock of the campaign. It lamented that Celeste was so much the underdog in the Locher-Stokes clash that "many voters feel a vote for Celeste is a wasted vote" if the single objective was to oust Locher.

Although the paper insisted that a vote for "the soundest and wisest choice" — its own description of Celeste — "really isn't wasted," it conceded that many voters thought otherwise. So for those who shared this view, "The *Press* believes the best move is to Carl Stokes."

Aware that its image of vigorous journalism was in grave jeopardy, the *Press* tried to explain the events of the week before. It acknowledged that "surprise has come from those who measure our position against the practice of other years, and believe it has been too low key."

Still, the paper explained, a "newspaper's role can and should sometimes be to offer not only a preference but an alternative. Particularly in a Primary election, which simply sets the stage for the general election still to come."

Among those who seemed most annoyed by it all was the *Press*'s celebrated ex-editor, Louis B. Seltzer, who delivered a scathing commentary on Cleveland radio station WERE in the final week of the Primary, assailing both *The Plain Dealer* and the *Press* for editorial pussyfooting. In view of *The Plain Dealer*'s unequivocal support of Stokes, Seltzer's criticism of that paper was unduly harsh; his attack on his alma mater, the *Press*, was at least electrifying.

Still, Seltzer's summary remarks ring with some journalistic truths that are worth repeating:

"This bite at the tender epidermis of the two daily newspapers comes from one who so deeply loves journalism for two reasons: one, in a time when people generally are so submerged in so many distracting obligations they tend more than ever to depend both on the information and opinions of the communications media; two, if therefore the newspapers could not justify a more effective participation in this all-time most important mayoralty election before Cleveland, at least in this generation, how then can they reasonably expect to have people heed them in lesser elections when they on those occasions give a greater show of sustained courage and decisiveness than in this one?"

ABE S. ZAIDAN

Abe S. Zaidan is a writer for the Akron Beacon Journal who covered the Cleveland election.

Too much Shirley?

Shirley Temple Black, in her first bid for public office, found California's political waters much rougher than those she sailed in the "Good Ship Lollipop" thirty-odd years ago. But the national news coverage she received during the campaign often looked as if she had written the script.

The one-time child movie star was defeated in a special election primary in the 11th congressional district in suburban San Mateo County near San Francisco. Her victorious opponent, Paul McCloskey, Jr., won the Republican nomination by a substantial plurality (56,878 to 34,521), but did so despite a flood of Shirley Temple publicity. (McCloskey went on to defeat Roy Archibald, the Democratic nominee, in the run-off in December.)

Voters were subjected to so much material on Mrs. Black that the result could have represented, among other things, a weariness of seeing Shirley Temple every time one turned on his television set or opened newspapers or magazines.

The national media, ranging from *Look* and *Time* to *The Reporter* and Huntley-Brinkley, inundated the district, and the country as well, with coverage that featured Shirley and often ignored the other candidates, including the eventual winner. The local media did better, but even they had the good ship lollipop tying up at the Capitol before it left drydock.

The race offered opportunity to study the political climate, as special elections often do, but few news organizations took advantage of it.

McCloskey, a 40-year-old trial lawyer and veteran of the Korean war, made Viet Nam the theme of his campaign. He advocated a gradual withdrawal of American troops, reunification of Viet Nam, and recognition that the country would probably end up under communist control.

The ten other candidates, including Mrs. Black, offered virtually the entire spectrum of views on the war. Edward M. Keating, the former publisher of *Ramparts* magazine, ran a stronger anti-war campaign than Mr. McCloskey. The Democrat, Archibald, a former San Mateo mayor who is now the West Coast representative of the



Mauldin, Chicago Sun-Times

"I never dreamed that someday she'd be mine."

National Education Association, was viewed as a moderate.

Among the others, Earl B. Whitmore, the sheriff of San Mateo County, called for law and order in this country and escalation in Viet Nam. William H. Draper III, an investment company president, supported the present Viet Nam policy. Patrick F. X. McGucken proclaimed himself a stand-in for President Johnson.

Mrs. Black herself proved that her movie fame helped get publicity. She was unquestionably the least experienced candidate in the race. She advocated escalation of the war, and said its conduct should be turned over to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

When she announced her candidacy, the media immediately accepted the idea that their readers and viewers were still interested in her. The *Los Angeles Times* said in jest that her first press conference was the largest gathering of newsmen

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since General MacArthur's return from Korea.

As the November 14 election date neared, it became clear that McCloskey was gaining and Mrs. Black asked the public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter to take the helm. *The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*, both of which handled the campaign with a degree of balance, told their readers that McCloskey was likely to make the race very close.

Most other news organizations were shocked to see Mrs. Black defeated rather soundly; their post-election coverage usually referred to the result as an upset. Certainly the thing that made this race different from most was the fact that "Little Shirley Temple" was running. But one wonders how much news it is for movie stars to seek public office in California, and one wonders how much of her news attention derived from the nostalgia of a generation of editors that grew up with her.

Of the major national publications that covered the race, only *The New Republic* carried a story before the election on McCloskey. *The Reporter*, in a three-page analysis of the race, failed to mention him. *Look*, which did a three-page picture spread on Mrs. Black, did not refer to any of her opponents.

Life's Shana Alexander focused an unflattering light on her: "The relentless twinkling sometimes makes me wonder if the candidate glows in the dark."

The television networks' coverage of Mrs. Black may have been heavier than that of the printed press. One McCloskey supporter complained: "The networks were obsessed. They followed her every time she went to the supermarket. Instead of covering her opponents, or ignoring the campaign, it was Shirley at home with the husband and kiddies, Shirley at the Muscular Dystrophy Board meeting, ad nauseam. It was really too much."

On the eve of the election, NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report* featured several minutes of intimate glimpses of Mrs. Black at home. The day

after her defeat, the same program had a brief look at McCloskey amid his cheering supporters, followed by another long look at her, this time in defeat. During the campaign KCBS radio in San Francisco carried a discussion with Mrs. Black that was supposed to be a tribute to dead actor Charles Bickford, but turned out to center mainly on the candidate.

The *Los Angeles Times's* Sunday magazine, *West*, ran a long article devoted to Mrs. Black, which said: "She is still the odds-on favorite to become the third former movie star to win high office in California in the last two years. For Shirley Temple is as friendly a fixture of Americana as Dr. Pepper and Hershey bars; and enshrined, like them, in her own separate spectrum, she seems determined to stay around and shine, in one milieu or other, forever."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* endorsed McCloskey, but gave continued coverage to Mrs. Black and slighted the other candidates. The leading local paper in the district, the *San Mateo Times*, which backed Mrs. Black, simply stopped referring to McCloskey late in the campaign.

Two of Mrs. Black's opponents went to Viet Nam, ostensibly to get firsthand impressions of the war, but more likely to garner some coverage of their own. Even there they found they couldn't compete with the treatment Mrs. Black was receiving. One candidate, William Draper, said: "I went halfway around the world, opened the *Stars and Stripes* newspaper, and there Shirley Temple Black is in a picture of her pouring coffee in Redwood City."

Whether the press contributed to Mrs. Black's defeat through excess is unclear, but had she won, it certainly could have claimed credit.

Because this was a special election, McCloskey must stand for reelection for a full two-year term this year. Mrs. Black said after her loss that "I will be back." If she decides a re-run would be profitable, the media may get a second chance.

DON STILLMAN

Don Stillman, a student at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, is an alumnus of California's University of Redlands.

Editorial notebook

Medium without message

Last October 17, the 300 delegates to the Inter-American Press Association meeting in San Juan Puerto Rico assembled in the auditorium of the magnificent new *El Mundo* building for a demonstration of the new technology. Along with illustrating the potential of satellite communication, the demonstration also inadvertently illustrated the problems that will come with it.

The main event in the demonstration was the transmission, via a satellite and a complicated array of land lines, of the front page of that day's *Daily Express* of London. The page, reproduced here, was scarcely worth transmitting three blocks except for readers still titillated by halftones of feminine thighs. The page's news was skimpy and its makeup monstrous.

Ergo, it all illustrates the pitfalls of the new era. Journalism around the world needs better thinking, better planning, and far more intelligence applied to content if it is to take advantage of the new communication marvels.

In the same demonstration, much was made of a new satellite teletype circuit that would transmit 1100 words a minute. Despite a temporary breakdown in the equipment, it was a superb and impressive technological innovation. Obviously, however, it will mean little to that majority of newspapers here and abroad that are not yet doing a professional and competent job of digesting, intelligently editing, and creditably presenting the words that come over plain old 60-words-a-minute teletypes.

Already newsrooms are inundated with a flow of news, photographs and press releases. We in



journalism shall have to do some highly innovative thinking if new methods of communication are to make newspapers and news broadcasts more meaningful instead of simply more confused.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

The Apollo story: the concealed patterns

Should reporters have been able to discern the dangers of fire that led to the Grissom-White-Chaffee tragedy?

By JAMES A. SKARDON

If there was one aspect of the space program in which it was incumbent on the press to serve as watchdog, it was in the matter of safety. Yet the record shows a superficial and incomplete performance — despite the frightening precedent of the Mercury project, which logically should have served to a much greater degree to alert the press.

As far as the public was concerned — on the basis of what it read, heard, and watched — the Mercury flights were by and large marvels of success. Yet the report of manufacturing performance that NASA finally released in October, 1963, revealed such a shocking record of defective parts, carelessness, and ineptitude, that, in the last analysis, only good fortune and the skill of the astronauts prevented a disaster. Apparently the lesson went unheeded, though, for the record of the Apollo coverage, as in the case of Mercury, reveals no medium that devoted itself to any special extent to investigating and questioning the quality of the Apollo product.

Through 1966 — and up to the time of the Apollo fire — there was a series of accidents which, if viewed as a pattern, could have alerted the

press to a need for a thorough re-examination of the Apollo program.

These mishaps were reported as individual events. There were stories to the effect that they would slow up the moon schedule, which was (and remains) an ever-present preoccupation of the press. Apparently no space writer or publication considered them as a pattern nor did any extensive looking into the quality and safety aspects of Apollo. Instead there were stories such as the one in the December 26, 1966, issue of *Aviation Week*, which reported "Apollo System Maturing Despite Problems."

As it turned out, there would have been ample reason to look behind the pattern of mechanical failures. NASA held a briefing in Houston late in 1966 to bring the press up to date on Apollo. Films of test failures were run showing, among other things, a test in which the heat-shield of the Apollo spacecraft split open, and the ship sank when dropped at high speed into a water tank. Too, as later became known, Gus Grissom had thought so little of the Apollo simulator that he had once hung a lemon on it.

It cannot be said that the series of Apollo failures led to the fire on January 27. But there is

a relationship in the sense that the public's lack of awareness of Apollo's problems of quality and safety contributed to the shock effect of the accident. Some writers, especially Bill Hines, reported on problems that had been discussed at Houston and cautioned that they would probably cause schedule delays. But no one seemed to see them as a pattern.

Similarly, no reporter identified the patterns of circumstance that were to contribute to the accident. As Harry Schwartz, a member of the *Times* editorial board, commented on the Apollo tragedy in the April 17, 1967, *Times*:

There has not yet been a full answer to justify permitting the astronauts to enter their death trap. The nearest thing to an explanation so far is the highly unsatisfactory claim that both NASA and the Apollo capsule builder, North American Aviation, were anesthetized by success, so that it never occurred to them that an accident could occur on the ground. Nothing of the sort, after all, had happened during either the Gemini or Mercury programs.

... such carelessness and unconcern seem incredible. The hazards must have been apparent to those involved in the project. The Apollo capsule tested last January had a pressurized oxygen atmosphere that any spark could have turned into an inferno. It also had much combustible material to serve as fuel. But it had no instant escape hatch or firefighting equipment. How could any technician have examined this situation and failed to realize the deadly game it represented here on earth?

It might also be asked: How could any scientifically or technically inclined or trained reporter — or even a good general reporter — also have “examined this situation and failed to realize the deadly game it represented here on earth?” It also could be reasonably asked where the *Times* was in the period before the accident.

The same, of course, can be said for most of the press, which cannot take credit even for as

This is the second part of a study of NASA and the press by James A. Skardon, a free-lance writer. The first part appeared in the fall, 1967, issue.

Fireproofing Apollo: January Blaze Brings \$110 Million Changes

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NASA Remodels Spacecraft, Stresses Safety on Ground; Underwear for Outer Space

By LOUIS ALEXANDER

Special Correspondent of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON—The astronauts are changing their underwear—and nearly everything else they will wear or ride in to the moon.

When spacemen Walter M. Schirra Jr., Donn F. Eisele and Walter Cunningham rocket into orbit sometime early next year for the first manned Apollo test flight, they'll wear water-cooled, fireproof long-johns made of beta cloth and new

Wall Street Journal article of August 16, 1967, is type of story that did not appear before fire.

Times; or cannot point, as the *Times* can, to its series of editorials from 1962 through 1966 questioning the good sense of attempting to reach the moon by the end of the '60's.

As in the case of the North American contract award, the Phillips Report, and the running “defects-and-failures” story of the Mercury and Apollo programs, it can hardly be said of the fire itself that the press was working in a situation totally lacking in warning signals. The most important of these were the fires that had previously taken place during tests of the pure oxygen environment of the Apollo capsule.

Information about the fires began to reach the public to an important extent only after the Apollo disaster. The *Times* reported on January 30 that Dr. W. O. Fenn, former director of the University of Rochester's Space Science Center, had said that several fires similar to the Apollo fire had taken place. Another scientist said he recalled a fire that had occurred three years before Apollo.

While NASA claimed the Apollo accident was the first space fire in the lunar program, it developed, as reported in the *Times* of January 31, that a paper prepared in 1964 for NASA by the Lovelace Foundation for Medical Education and

Research noted several fire accidents in simulated space cabins using oxygen.

Previous reports in technical journals on the threat of fire had been generally overlooked by the press. In its issue of May 6, 1963, *Missiles and Rockets*, for example, had told of a report by representatives from the U. S. Air Crew Equipment Laboratory and Pacific Missile Range describing a pure oxygen environment fire in which a man's hand had begun to burn when he tried to slap out the flames. When he tried to beat the fire out on another part of his body, it, too, began to burn.

The question of fire was discussed mainly as part of the mixed-gas vs. single-gas environment debate, and it was usually the possibility of fire in space that was considered along with other potential effects of the pure oxygen environment including long-term anemia, oxygen toxicity, and the effects on vision. *Missiles and Rockets* also reported in 1963 that:

... a number of the biomedical specialists interviewed complained that NASA suppresses information to prevent opposition from developing . . . One doctor said that when NASA was inclined to favor a two-gas system, it would not allow publication of data on bends, which are a hazard with double-gas systems. Now that single-gas has been selected, he charged, NASA is opposing collection or publication of data that could be used by opponents of the decision.

The fires under laboratory conditions did not necessarily presage the Apollo fire, but they could have logically presented a pattern against which the possibilities of the kind of accident that occurred might have been considered. Yet it appears that reportorial alertness could also have served almost as well as technical knowledge in considering the possibilities of a ground fire.

Starting with the fact that the environment of the capsule was pure oxygen, a reporter might have asked about the flammability of the nylon netting that was stretched under the astronauts' couches to keep items from floating into equipment crevices, or about the Velcro material used to fasten equipment to the spacecraft interior, or about the water-glycol coolant in the environmental control system, or about the solder joints

of the pipes, or about the foam rubber pads on which the hatch-cover rested during drills, or about the padding in the astronauts' couches. As it turned out, all of these items contributed to the almost instantaneous spread of the fire.

As one leading space writer for a major newspaper puts it, "There was really nothing to keep us from taking a look inside the Apollo command capsule and asking 'Won't this stuff burn?'"

"The answer from NASA would have been," he went on, "that they had tested it at five psi [pounds per square inch] — as they did — and found it okay. But the reporter who took that next step and asked, 'What about sixteen psi' — the pressure under which the ground test was conducted — and then gone on from there, could very well have done the nation a great favor."

Perhaps the most obvious oversight on the part of the press, and of everyone concerned, was that in case of emergency it would have taken the crew 90 seconds to open the hatch and escape from the capsule. It also apparently never occurred to anyone that, since the inner hatch opened inward, it would have been physically impossible for the astronauts to open it because the tremendous interior pressure built up by the fire — unless it was otherwise released — would have held the hatch closed.

Congressional hearings on the accident also revealed that there were no emergency procedures for the conditions under which the accident occurred. Fire-fighting procedures were set up to deal with fuel fires and explosions. Since there was no fuel present during the fatal test, no fire-fighting equipment was on hand. It was later admitted by NASA that not a single fire drill had been held during the testing programs.

Given these conditions, it apparently did not occur to any reporter to do any sort of story on the woefully inadequate fire-prevention procedures provided at Cape Kennedy for ground tests. Yet again there had been warning signals that a scientifically trained or inclined reporter might have come across had he searched space literature with an alert eye. For example, a report by Dr. Frank J. Hendel, an environmental specialist with North American, published in the July-August 1964 issue of the *Journal of Spacecraft and Rockets*,

stated that a pure oxygen environment "presents a fire hazard, which is especially great on the launching pad, when the cabin is purged with oxygen at 14.7 psia. . . . Even a small fire creates toxic products of combustion; hence, fire prevention measures and/or fire-fighting equipment are mandatory."

The question can be raised as to how the press could be expected to see what the technicians and the astronauts had failed to see. Perhaps, but it cannot be denied that a reporter *could* have foreseen the possibilities of a ground fire, just as it would have been possible for the press to have obtained and published more pertinent information on the pre-fire Apollo program as a whole.

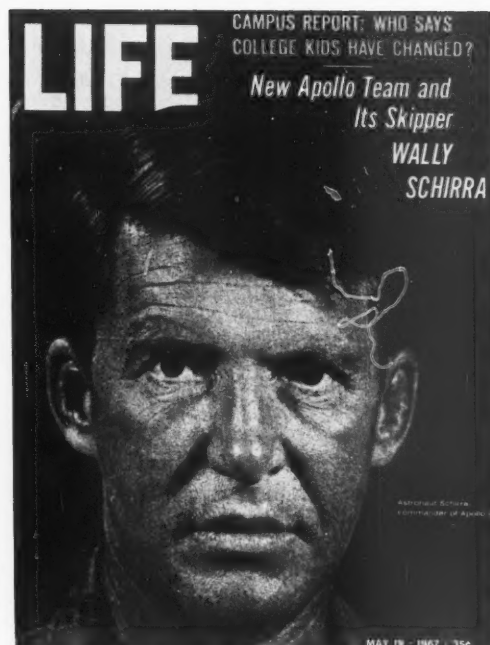
Why did the press fail to provide the public with adequate information on such aspects of the Apollo program as the North American contract, the Phillips Report, the evidence of shoddy workmanship and the accident record, and the circumstances touching on the Apollo fire itself?

The explanation most heavily relied upon by the press itself is, of course, that news management by NASA kept newsmen from reporting the story. But this argument loses some of its persuasiveness when it is considered that after the Apollo fire — despite what NASA did to throw up a wall of secrecy — the press managed to come up with a true account of the accident within days. If it got this story, it would seem logical that it could have obtained others.

What seems a more plausible explanation of the lack of more analytical coverage of the Apollo program is that many of the journalists covering Apollo were so caught up with the rest of the country in the challenge, drama, and excitement of the race to beat the Russians to the moon that they came to regard themselves as part of the space "team."

Two factors may have contributed to the drift that brought some members of the press too close to the Establishment. The first was the scientific-technical language the press and the space people used in common. This had the effect of drawing the press into the NASA "family."

The second factor involved the "hostile" outsiders, who came to be identified primarily as the Congressmen and their supporters who would cut



Even after the Apollo accident, Life continued to treat astronauts almost like show-business personalities. Above: May 19, 1967.

the NASA budget. All hands, consciously or unconsciously, seem to have made a common bond that they would do nothing to endanger appropriations. Not only would they do nothing against the cause; but once in a while they would even do something *for* it.

Time magazine's story on the Apollo fire in its February 3, 1967, issue is an example of the uncritical and even idolatrous reporting that characterized much of the coverage of Apollo. At a time when a hard look at what happened might have been in order, *Time* chose instead to speak of the "down-played dedication," the "casual-seeming courage," the "nonchalance under pressure" and the "drilled-in professionalism, perfectionism and thoroughness" of the astronauts. It described them as "heroic pioneers" and "brilliant technicians" comparing them to such figures as Marco Polo, Magellan, and Charles A.

Lindbergh. It quoted Gus Grissom's previously expressed desire that the program go on no matter what happened to him.

The *Time* story did review some of the troubles Apollo had encountered, and dismissed them with the line, "But all the bugs were eventually ironed out, as far as the experts knew, after arduous testing under every conceivable circumstance."

Life followed *Time* with a mawkish tribute to the three astronauts in a full-page ad in the January 31, 1967, *New York Times*. It began: "Grissom . . . White . . . Chaffee . . . They bought the farm right on the pad, cooked in the silvery furnaces of their spacesuits. . . ." The ad ended, "For them, no more cries of 'Wow, what a view!' No more phone calls from the President. They will not see their wives and the children meeting them. Grissom . . . White . . . Chaffee . . ."

It is interesting to follow the post-fire coverage after its highly critical phase had begun to flicker out. Stories began to appear that seemed to have been instigated with the purpose of repairing the damage to the "idol." One, an Associated Press story out of the home of North American, in Downey, California, carried the headline in the June 7, 1967, *New York Post*: "New Apollo Gets a Lot of Pampering." It told of the extreme care North American was taking to make sure this one worked. The story pointed out that North American employees called the new craft "Wally's Ship," in reference to the new commander, Navy Captain Walter M. Schirra, Jr. It also said that to company employees the craft was "the one that hopefully will prove that regardless of what anybody says they can indeed build safe, flyable spacecraft."

An editorial in the May 22, 1967, issue of *Technology Week* by William J. Coughlin echoed the same new line, warning that further inquiry into the accident would be tantamount to "harassment" and that demanding too much information from NASA would endanger its ability to function. The editorial urged an understanding of North American's situation, saying that emotions were "on edge" at the company and that the loss of business resulting from the fire had been a "bitter blow to [North American's] pride."

"And make no mistake," Mr. Coughlin wrote,

Recovery

Success of the unmanned Saturn V flight on November 9, 1967, rekindled the booster spirit of the press.

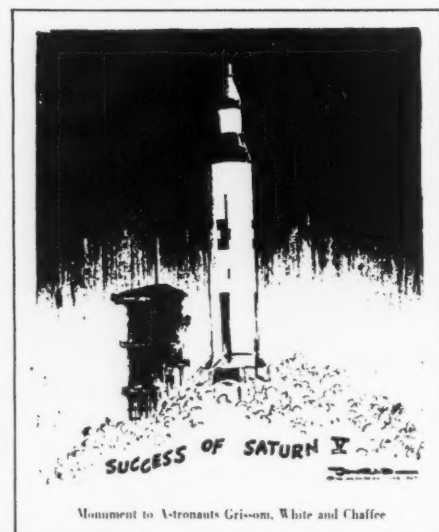
New York Daily News, November 10:

MAN ON MOON IS A LOT CLOSER *Saturn, Surveyor Show Way*

Christian Science Monitor, November 11:

Saturn's Brilliant Feat Is Morale Booster for NASA

Conrad in Los Angeles Times, November 12:



U.S. News & World Report, November 20:

U.S. News & World Report

MOON ROCKET'S DEBUT—"COLOSSAL"

Success of Saturn V brought the world's biggest rocket into U.S. space inventory. More than that—it has sparked new vigor in a program beset by troubles.

UNVEILING AMERICA'S SATURN V...

World's mightiest Rocket. Weighs 365 tons, taller than the Statue of Liberty, was built in just 10 weeks.

KENNEDY SPACE CENT.

"North American is a company that has earned the right to its pride the hard way, through fine engineering and excellent products. It will continue to produce such products in the future. That makes the fall from grace even harder to take."

The attempts at patching up The Image will continue, but it is doubtful that the relationship between NASA and the press will ever be quite the same. Administrator Webb apparently feels that the press, after helping build The Image, deserted when it came upon bad times. NASA and the contractors, having been through an excruciating experience, are tightening up even more on information.

Although NASA has recently established a new department with the primary mission of publicizing the risks involved in space flight, this gesture would not seem to promise greater public enlightenment. As a case in point, we need look no further than Representative Ryan's statement in October, 1967, that Wernher Von Braun's criticisms of the workmanship on the Saturn rocket had been suppressed by NASA.

In short, conditions, even with the lesson and impetus of the Apollo fire, do not seem to favor future effective functioning of the press as a watchdog over NASA and the Apollo program. As one reporter put it, blaming editors for some of the failure on the part of the press to turn in any extensive, exhaustive pre-fire Apollo stories: "A couple of weeks after the fire, it was just as if the World Series were over. We couldn't even get our editors to allot the space to report the follow-up hearings in Congress on the fire. I guess they figured the public wasn't interested anymore."

Unfortunately, pleasing the public instead of doing a thorough reporting job seems to have played a critical part in the admittedly insufficient coverage of Apollo, as it has in the failure to cover other, perhaps dull, yet highly significant developments. In the words of the science editor of a major magazine: "We just can't afford to risk tying up the men and the money on stories that might not develop and might not have enough timely impact to attract a large readership."

The seeming contradiction between what the times demand and the insistence of most of the

press on continuing to act as if headlines, as such, still meant, even in the age of television, what they once did on the newsstands, raises the question of whether the press can be counted on to serve as the public's watchdog, as it traditionally sees itself. Perhaps its bite — and even its bark — is already gone.

Nobody covered the pre-fire Apollo story as it, theoretically, might have been covered. Some publications, notably *The New York Times*, *The Evening Star*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Sun-Times* among the newspapers, did better jobs than others. Admittedly reporting such vast and complicated operations as NASA presents almost superhuman challenges.

Yet perhaps the challenges do not suggest so much the "impossibility" of the assignment as the fact that the press continues in an era of exploding technology to approach stories in its tried, plodding ways. Perhaps the press should itself be employing technology to a much greater extent in the coverage of such technologically based operations as NASA. Perhaps, too, greater attention should be given to the development of staffs of specialists and to a more extensive consideration of the role of the press itself. In an age of instantaneous electronic communication, it could very well be that the print media should get out of the "spot" news business and into the "news-background" business on a full-time basis. It should, in other words, take a posture of "acting" rather than "reacting" in keeping the public informed.

Meanwhile, in regard to such crucial stories as Apollo, the question remains, if not the press, who? As Senator Walter F. Mondale (Democrat, Minnesota) summed up the dilemma of Congress — and of the public — after an exasperating session of questioning Administrator Webb and other NASA officials: "I think the key question is whether we are going to be limited to information which NASA wants us to have, or whether we will be provided with the critical information."

"How," Senator Mondale went on, when Mr. Webb suggested that Congress limit requests for information to essential points only, "can we request information which is candid and frank if we do not know of its existence?"

Journalism's stepchildren: the book editors

By NONA BALAKIAN

It is indicative of our rapidly changing times that as recently as 1959 the critic Elizabeth Hardwick could create a small sensation by writing an article in *Harper's* on "The Decline of Book Reviewing." By announcing that "Sunday morning with the Book Reviews [meaning *The New York Times* and the late *Herald Tribune*] is often a dismal experience," she not only caused heads to topple but inspired the idea for a new book review designed to correct this unhappy situation—namely, *The New York Review of Books*, which began publication in 1963 during the extended New York newspaper strike.

Nine years deeper into the age of mass electronic media, I have no illusions about creating a similar sensation by reporting on the state of book reviewing outside New York. Miss Hardwick's tirade against soupy, innocuous reviewing was directed exclusively at the New York scene. She was attacking the sources of power: *The New York Times Book Review*, with a current circulation of 1,506,000, the *Herald Tribune*, dead since 1966, and the *Saturday Review* (circulation 491,000). To find out what existed apart from these powers, I decided to look out of town.

Statistics alone told part of the story. I discovered that outside New York City there are seventeen large-circulation Sunday newspapers (500,000 or over) that carry Sunday book sections—most often on a single page, tucked into a general entertainment section. There are only two supplements comparable in scope to that of the *Times: Book World*, shared by *The Washington*

Post and *The Chicago Tribune*, and the even newer *Book Week*, in the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

Some papers, like the *Oregonian* of Portland (circulation 398,000), have no separate book page but review books on politics or regional subjects on editorial pages. In the case of the Portland *Sunday Telegram*, Maine's largest paper (circulation 107,000), books are reviewed weekly only in summer, and bi-weekly and tri-monthly in winter—the logic being, I suppose, that book reviews are for tourists! Some, like the *Sunday Detroit Free Press* (580,000) find a whole page too much for books and add a column on art on the same page.

I made a list of two dozen representative newspapers of varying Sunday circulations, ranging from *The Los Angeles Times's* 970,000 to *The Providence Journal's* 205,000. I wrote to their book editors for sample pages and brief reports on their methods of operation.

The response was quick and warm. With avid curiosity, I attacked the reading of a stack of the book pages submitted. All too soon my interest turned to disbelief and dismay as I observed how little space there was for reviewing, how poorly the reviews were displayed, how sloppy the editing often was, how incredible the choice of books reviewed—all this in newspapers that had circulations in the hundreds of thousands.

It was hard to avoid concluding that book reviewing on many newspapers is to all practical purposes the lowliest form of journalism (certainly in terms of compensation) and the editorship of a book section falls into the category of unsung heroism!

The reasons for this are multifarious and, understandably, essentially economic. Presumably there are not so many book readers outside New York (even in Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and Philadelphia) and certainly far too few book stores. The publishing industry, moreover, is centered in New York. But beyond these deterrents, book reviewing by its very nature presents a difficult problem to newspapers. It is a luxury. Where the circulation is large, there is the problem of adjusting a non-mass product (for how many best-sellers are there, after all?) to a mass medium, the newspaper. And for the smaller newspa-

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pers, there is the financial hitch: you need advertising to make space for reviews, and publishers are reluctant to spend for ads outside New York.

Newspapers have tried to solve their book-page problems variously. To make books palatable to mass audiences, book news is emphasized over reviews. Critical judgment is abrogated, and in its place we are likely to be given material prepared by a publicity writer. On papers with small budgets, a syndicated column presenting the views of a single man may take the place of diverse bylines. This man's views are repeated in dozens of papers throughout the country. Finally, no one has yet been able to discover how to find qualified reviewers for books in special fields when all one can afford to pay a reviewer is \$15 or less, or sometimes nothing at all! Under the circumstances, it is a wonder that we have the numerous instances of excellence that exist. Those I will discuss later.

First, here is what my correspondents had to say about their jobs as book editors:

Book pages are frequently placed in the hands of general reporters and editorial writers with some literary background who are often engaged in other work on the newspaper. Theirs is often a labor of love, to which, in the larger cities, a few fringe benefits are attached. As one editor put it: "There are the extracurricular activities, such as getting authors to come for book and author luncheons, dinners, etc., prowling around book stores to find out what books are going and which are not, yakking with publishers' sales representatives, and all that jolly, jolly bit." Occasionally the editor of a book page is a professor who drops into the newspaper office once or twice a week; one is a professor of philosophy at the University of Cincinnati, and another teaches English literature at Los Angeles State College. Others, like the book editor of *The Chattanooga Times*, may be librarians. ("I am not at the *Times* frequently," this editor wrote me in apology for his late answer.) Or one may be, as in the case of the editor at *The Hartford Courant*, a retired school teacher.

An editor from a newspaper in the Northwest with a circulation of 276,000 writes:

As you can see, I am given ten tabloid columns to fill each week. I have been doing this for 25 years, and all, believe me, in my spare time. I put in a full day as a news editor on our evening editions. Mostly I write the pages myself since I have no budget for paying reviewers. Sometimes I use a Times Service review and occasionally someone will do a particular review just for the book. Except in politics, I am given wide latitude with my weekly column and often write on non-literary subjects ranging from hunting and fishing to rose gardening and redecorating our home.

Harriet Doar, the enterprising and talented book editor of a much smaller Southern paper, *The Charlotte Observer*, reports that she receives 3,000 books a year, of which only 10 per cent are reviewed. Here are telling passages from her report:

I am surprised and touched at the writers [she names Lillian Smith and Harry Golden] who will take time to review since we cannot pay them anything... We have a new university branch here, and the professors are good about reviewing. Housewives are often good, particularly those who do a little writing... I would like to have more reviews of books dealing with international problems but I find these hardest to get done well. Those with specialized knowledge want to go on forever, and I don't feel competent enough to cut and edit those properly.

The previously mentioned editor who was going to all those jolly parties also had his headaches, and he wrote:

Newspapers would have better book coverage if they could get more book advertising and vice versa. Your *New York Times* is not only villainous but a really malicious influence on American journalism in this respect. Rates for *Book Review* are so high and the publishers are so impressed to see their ads there that the *Times* consumes most advertising budgets before they can be placed elsewhere.

Absence of space, of staff, of advertising, of adequate reviewers — these are the major complaints.

There are other problems. The first thing that strikes you in reading the book pages is the conglomeration of books reviewed. While some papers review a major book like Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* promptly, most review books that came out perhaps three months ago, and in 500 words or less. Considering the meagerness of space, one regrets that so much space is given to third-rate novels, to such miscellany as books on Yoga, wine drinking, love and marriage, Celtic myths, or movie stars. If on occasion a literary title or an important book on world affairs creeps in, it is almost swallowed up.

This choice, one might point out, is not completely the editor's. It is partly dictated by the books that publishers are willing to send him. Since they rarely advertise their books in these newspapers, publishers are reluctant to send all their best titles, and they make arbitrary selections based on preconceived notions of what will sell in St. Louis, Omaha, or Dallas. As for the time lag, whereas *The New York Times* receives its books six weeks before publication date, the out-of-town papers often receive their copies *after* the book has been published.

Book publishers, moreover, show little regard for special regional interests. The book editor of the *Dallas Times Herald* writes:

Publishers never seem to realize that a Texas newspaper is interested in all Texas items.... My chief complaint is that the book industry is so confined to the isle of Manhattan.

To return to the book pages. Most of them, as mentioned before, consist of a single page, usually tucked into the final portions of the entertainment section. (*The Boston Traveler* calls it "Show Guide".) In a few instances (like the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*) the reviews are spaced over a few pages and appear alongside art and music notes or large movie ads. Generally there is a columnist and, though he will title his column something like "The World of Books," books merely provide an excuse, it seems, for airing views that are ultimately not very literary. Sometimes he may review a book simply because it caters to a special taste or interest of

the columnist, or sometimes, possibly, because the author of the book is a friend. The kind of columnist who gets around will often interrupt his comments on the book at hand with such asides as "at lunch the other day the author of this book told me..."—which doesn't leave much room for critical comment.

The reviewing, at its worst, is catastrophic: mere puffs based on publicity releases, but more poorly written and edited. Even when the reviewers are not identified as housewives (in some cases their addresses are given—so the author can protest?), even when the reviews are by academics, professionals, the critical caliber can be very low, with the emphasis placed less on the book's meaning and art than on its author. It would seem that most usually the author with a striking personality or reputation gets the most attention. Thus, even with a thinker like Paul Tillich (if his book is reviewed at all), what is emphasized is Tillich the man and his life, rather than his philosophy.

Perhaps what is finally most disheartening is the feeling one gets that books are regarded as a mere commodity. When a frivolous book by Patrick Dennis (author of *Auntie Mame*) is given equal space with a Cambridge historian's biography of the Earl of Southampton, one wonders if the juxtaposition of these reviews was dictated by anything more than the fact that the Earl and Mr. Dennis sport similar beards!

Yet I do not want to leave the impression that all is hopeless. Quite the contrary. Editors are generally aware of shortcomings and eager to do something about them. There is growing recognition that reviewing must be raised to a professional level, and more and more academic people and creative writers are being used as reviewers. Finally, one can single out at least half a dozen editors who are doing outstanding work—some of them despite limited resources and inadequate compensation or recognition.

Thorpe Menn of the *Kansas City Star*, A. C. Greene of the *Dallas Times Herald*, Robert Cromie of *The Chicago Tribune*, and Robert Kirsch of the *Los Angeles Times* make a careful selection of material and reviewers, try to reflect literary trends with understanding, and

themselves write with authority. Edwin Tribble of the *Washington Star* edits a lively page, and there are others of varying degrees of success, such as *The Providence Journal*, *Detroit News*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Denver Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Milwaukee Journal*, and *The National Observer*. Among smaller papers, the Riverside (California) *Press-Enterprise* runs a solid and literate section.

Still more hearteningly, one encounters on occasion fresh talents and provocative points of view. The writers often have little or no sacrosanct feeling about literary reputations and take slowly to literary vogues. This is how a reviewer in Kansas City approached Edmund Wilson:

I recall reading with great pleasure many of Edward [oops!] Wilson's essays in "The Bit Between My Teeth" when they first appeared in *New Yorker* magazine, but they do not stand up well upon second reading. This collection of his pronouncements over the last 13 years strikes me as long and rambling, unified by nothing but the author's increasing vanity and dogmatism... Wilson is ungracefully aging into a victim of the too common American assumption that the whole world should get worked up over the crochets of talented individuals... he resembles in his latest work the resolutely independent grocer in a world of faceless supermarkets — a still admirable but somewhat obsolescent figure.

This is not only candid but expressed in a colorful, individual manner. It would probably never have been published in New York. And from the same city recently came the best assessment of John O'Hara as a moralist that I have ever read.

There is a free and breezy manner that one also welcomes. This is how a Dallas critic greeted Susan Sontag's *Against Interpretation*:

Freud is dead. So are Fromm and Marx. So is tragedy, the novel, and the theatre. And God, of course. What isn't dead? Susan Sontag. And what's Susan Sontag? She's a young female with an awesome intelligence whose book, "Against Interpretation" puts her in the front ranks of intellectualism. She is the mortician in charge of the funeral services for the 19th century and all that it embodied. She is the Apostle of the Now.

And there is fearlessness. The *San Francisco Chronicle's* critic, for instance, minced no words when writing about Capote's *In Cold Blood*. In a review as long as the one in *The New York Times Book Review*, Evan S. Connell, Jr., presented one of the most effective dissenting views on this book, his final verdict being that it was "as powerless and empty of ominous significance as a dead snake." When a book is being heralded on every side as a masterpiece and is earning the author a cool million, it takes courage to go out on a limb.

There are disadvantages to being away from the center of power. But there are important compensations, too:

1. Far from New York's promotional hullabaloo, there is less danger of drifting with the tide.

2. The style of writing can remain fresher because it is less at the mercy of professional editing, which can, and often does, destroy individuality of expression.

3. Because little in the way of personal power is at stake, it is easier to be dissenting and completely honest.

Book World, the new supplement in *The Washington Post* and *The Chicago Tribune*, by aiming to be "a national book review with a national outlook," may further tend to weaken the expression of diverse regional interests and opinions from which ultimately the richness of our culture derives. That is always the danger of consolidation. But it should take some of the power away from New York — which is all to the good.

If we want to raise the quality of literary journalism in the country at large — and at the same time utilize all our creative and critical resources — we cannot, it seems to me, continue to center our attention on a single geographical area. Because New York is the publishing center, we have allowed it to dominate the literary scene. I think it is time to take a longer and larger look at the reviewing scene. Let us not flatter ourselves that as New Yorkers we lead the nation. Let us, instead, keep our ears cocked to hear what the rest of the nation is saying. It is an education we can use.

Secrets of newspaper failure

An unsolicited guide for members of the Senate anti-trust and monopoly subcommittee holding hearings on a proposed Failing Newspaper Act

I. Who, How, What, and Why Make News?

A. What Is News?

News is what gets in the paper. The event may be cataclysmic, but if no reporter is sent to cover it the whole thing dies like a shout into Outer Space. The reporter may return hot and panting with the tidings, only to encounter an editor who decides that the event did not warrant coverage, that in any case there is insufficient space to print it, or that really significant news does not barge into the City Room unannounced. There is a growing school of thought which maintains that news is generated from the cerebations of an editorial conference, much as luminous gas arises from a rotting swamp. Again, no event that upsets the publisher's digestion without advancing his political or financial interests can expect to impress itself on his expensive newsprint. In the ere-whonian community envisioned by proponents of the F.N.A. (Failing Newspaper Act), where one or more newspapers flourish under a single ownership, nothing will become news until it has won its spurs with the local publisher. Surely this winnowing process is preferable to the often erratic exposés which disrupt cities where competing publishers scramble to out-do each other!

B. An Infallible Criterion

Whatever their current difficulties, it must be noted to the credit of newspaper publishers that they have shown a deep and consistent respect for precedent. Before embarking on a course of action, they have asked themselves: Have we always done it this way? Only when they could give a positive answer to that question were they willing to proceed, certain that they were protecting the long-established institution of the press from the purely transient phenomena of our times, such

as radio, television, the union shop, state socialism, and woman suffrage. (An admirable parallel may be observed in the railroad industry, which has steadfastly preserved its original character in the face of cheeky opposition from bus lines, over-the-road truck companies and fly-by-night airlines.)

C. An Important Discovery

In the perfection of their grand design, newspaper publishers may be forgiven for overlooking an occasional innovation which has proved its worth in allied fields. They unaccountably failed to notice, for example, that the phenomenal success of the weekly news magazines had been attained without devoting a special page to the expression of editorial opinion. These magazines discovered that editorial viewpoints should never be exposed naked to the mercy of the winds; like the tender plantings of a fine garden, they are prone to perish from exposure. The news magazines have avoided this peril by mortising their message into the news-content, so that the two may be said to be truly wed. Putting it more prosaically, this process could be called "built-in editorializing;" in it, the nouns are the grapes, while the verbs, adjectives, and adverbs ferment the editorial juices. These "action" words supply the deep purple hue; the swift kick that gets the news off the ground. They also determine the direction of its flight, setting the course so unobtrusively that the reader is unaware of the heading. The compass-points are there, but he seldom bends over to check them. If, however, the reader with a more critical turn of mind wishes to ascertain the credit-rating of a given politician with the publisher of a news magazine, he need only pluck out the verbs and adjectives adhering to the office-holder. Is he "doddering" or "seasoned"? Did he "pontificate" or "clarify"? How did he answer the reporters' questions? "Testily" or "succinctly"? The news magazines have progressed far beyond the elemental notion that a news story is a marshaling of facts intended to describe an event; they see it as a blend of facts and tumescent words, mixed in transit like a truckload of concrete. The news-magazine story has superseded the traditional newspaper editorial; bearing no baggage-tag, it may alter its destination at will. The politician who "craw-fished" this week can, by modifying his movements, "plunge boldly ahead" next week. Attentive students of these directional shifts will perceive at once that the politician so described has altered nothing but his partisan coloration — yet

could anyone deny that the ordinary reader has been emotionally enriched by the crackling of implied drama? The lesson is clear for all newspaper publishers; either fire the editorial writers or integrate them with the reporting staff, where they may practice their skills with news-magazine subtlety.

D. Once Said Is Sufficient

Every newspaper publisher has written at length on the critical issues of government interference in private business, the relentless encroachment of state socialism, the proliferation of the welfare state, the wanton dispersal of foreign aid, the alarming rise in the crime rate, and the indefensible prolongation of strikes. Would it not be the part of Congressional wisdom, expressed through the F.N.A., to limit a given editorial thesis to one newspaper in each city? Readers would be spared the tedium of overlapping philippics at breakfast and dinner, and the great northern pine forests, now imperiled by the voracious hunger for newsprint, would be allowed to stand for the enjoyment of our posterity.

E. The Malleability of Chain Publishing

Publishers of unsuccessful newspapers would do well to acquire the damascene flexibility of the typical chain publisher. He is ever on the alert to find out whether the majority of his readers in each community is Democratic or Republican, integrationist or segregationist, antediluvian conservative or crackpot liberal, and to conduct his enterprise in harmony with that civic consensus. This is best done on a wholly decentralized basis, so that the publisher does not, through some oversight in the home office, discover himself endorsing a John Birch rally on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Businessmen in all the cities he serves appreciate this course of action, and the continued employment of his staff—except for such reductions as the publisher may deem advisable—is assured.

F. On Advice of Counsel

The Congress, and indeed all Americans, should look to the legal profession for salvation in the present crisis of the newspaper industry. Lawyers have long been distinguished for their ardent advocacy of temperate news coverage. Editors and even publishers tend to be impulsive about rushing matters into print which might better have kept their private character. No one

is more resourceful than the lawyer in adducing the many sound reasons why a particular story should not be printed. The American Bar Association recently showed the publishers how the Spartan standards of the profession might be applied to the reporting of criminal trials. Is it too much to hope that the lawyers will outline a similarly protective formula for *all* news coverage? Their unique conception of news, if accorded proper recognition, would make it possible to get along with many fewer newspapers. The surviving papers, freed from the costly burden of printing long columns of news, would prosper.

II. The Prudent Publisher

A. How to Stifle a Staff

When misfortune casts a publisher into the snake pit of open competition—a condition that the F.N.A. will go far to alleviate—he is sorely pressed to retain his editorial staff at a price he can afford to pay. He moves immediately to erect an invisible barrier between his editorial executives and the staff, knowing that failure to do so will lead to serious reprisals, such as requests for a raise. If a newspaper advertising salesman sells two or three times his assigned quota, a “Good work,” spoken crisply and without undue emphasis, may be apropos. But the wise publisher knows that comments of this kind are never advisable when dealing with editorial workers, for they are persons of an essentially poetic and unworldly turn of mind, finding their reward in the consciousness of successful creation. Words of praise from an editor destroy this subjective evaluation, causing staff members to consider the value of their services to others. Abandoning their artistic independence, they resort to collective action, challenging the very enterprise which provides their subsistence. The American Newspaper Guild may have sprung from this sort of ill-timed approbation, although folk-legends have assigned its origin to certain inescapable wage adjustments during the 1930’s. Instead of allowing his editors to upset staff people with words of praise spoken in haste, the wise publisher will counsel them to point out minor flaws in the staff man’s performance.

B. This Knotty Business of Wage Negotiations

Persons outside the newspaper industry must be made aware that contract negotiations between newspaper publishers and their editorial unions

are in no way comparable to union-management bargaining in the auto, steel, or electrical industries. By its nature, the newspaper is a semi-public utility; service to its readers, rather than profit-making potential, is the true measure of its worth. Editorial unions frequently lose sight of this fact, and must be periodically reminded of it as negotiations advance. It is significant that newspapers had no "outside" editorial union until the 1930's, when a wave of anti-capitalistic hysteria caused it to replace many time-honored company unions. Perhaps it is too late for publishers to recapture the rapport of that era, but they have carried some of its virtues into their discussions with the Newspaper Guild. Friends of management are rewarded with pay-raises just in advance of negotiations. These disbursements are not ostentatious, but take the form of concessions which need not appear on the regular payroll. A prudent management will not expose its loyal allies to inter-office taunts.

Very early in the wage-talks, the publisher must accustom himself to extortionate union demands, e.g. a \$300-a-week salary for some reporter or copyreader of no more than twenty years' experience, or a vastly inflated pension scheme which would permit a news worker to retire at half pay after no more than thirty years' service. At this juncture, the publisher presents figures showing that satisfaction of Guild demands would cost \$10 or \$15 millions. This must be an accurate figure, but the etiquette of the situation does not oblige the publisher to specify that his estimate covers the costs projected over the next half-century. The publisher must emphasize his inability to pay, and if union representatives demand to see the books it is quite in order to show them the books reserved for this purpose. The promotion department must be cautioned to soft-pedal claims of the paper's recent prosperity. A timely economy wave will sweep through the editorial department, suspending typewriter repairs, rationing pencils, and advising the use of both sides of a sheet of notepaper before discarding it. The editorial accountant must crack down hard on reporters' expense-accounts, imposing an absolute ceiling of \$2 on lunches or refreshments bought for likely news sources. No concession of any type should be made until the union has approved a definite strike date, since no contract improvement can be considered meaningful unless whelped out of crisis. When an agreement is reached, it should be accompanied by the reminder that only tremendous boosts in man-hour productivity will assure the staff of continued employment. Admittedly, this

is a turbulent sequence, but if unions persist in being mercenary, what publisher can afford the urge for public service that originally attracted him to newspaper work?

III. Overtures to a Götterdämmerung

A. A Management Consultant Shall Lead Them

When a new owner acquires a sick newspaper, either by inheritance or purchase, he turns with a tropic response to a firm of management consultants. It is the job of the management consultant to tell a man who does not know enough to run his own business how it can be saved by knowing even less. Having been hired for a neat figure of \$50 to \$100 thousand, the consultant unleashes his pack of analysts to swarm over the entire newspaper plant, sniffing out dry-rot in every shadowy corner. These young, keen-nosed investigators can follow a scent into the very heart of battle. To cite an example, they will interview news-workers within shooting distance of the deadline to obtain a realistic "battleground picture." If they come upon a reporter typing a story, they will ask him what he is doing and, probing still more deeply, why he is doing it. If they observe the City Editor hastily scribbling on copy paper and simultaneously handling telephone calls, they will want to know whether this is a vital news process or simply make-work.

If they notice — and they certainly will! — that reporters are sitting idly at their desks during so-called "slack periods," they will ask to what extent the reporters' presence contributes to the hourly word-output rate. Team members will mark the exact time that newsmen go to lunch and when they return; if the "out" time exceeds an hour, they will note the reason for this deviation. Delivery trucks will be checked in and out of the loading dock, and drivers will be held accountable. Printers will be called upon to justify the amount of time it takes them to make corrections on a piece of copy. Display advertising salesmen will be asked why they give so large a portion of their working time to "business luncheons," and to furnish the names of the prospects they interviewed. Occasional misunderstandings may arise, but the interviews should be completed within a month or two.

With the passage of a few more weeks, the publisher receives a 300-page report. This is no routine presentation but contains dozens of schematic charts, mathematical formulae interlocked with cost factors, and circulation analysis by race, creed, and feet above sea-level. Its flashes of docu-

mented illumination are so brilliant that the publisher is unable to comprehend them without a young consultant or two constantly hovering at his elbow. It soon becomes clear to him that he cannot hope to implement the report without hiring away the consultants who have been explaining it to him. Stated broadly, the report concludes that costs must be pared to the bone, and the way to do it is to reduce the employed force of the paper by 10 or 20 per cent. Quite naturally, this unhappy task falls to the consultants who have just become newspapermen. Yet everyone benefits; the employees who have been unshackled from the payroll are free to seek fresh opportunities in the ever-expanding newspaper industry, the publisher has been able to slash his payroll, the management firm collects its roundish fee, and several of its young experts are ready to settle down to stable employment — as much of it as an ailing newspaper can guarantee — instead of being buffeted from one survey to the next.

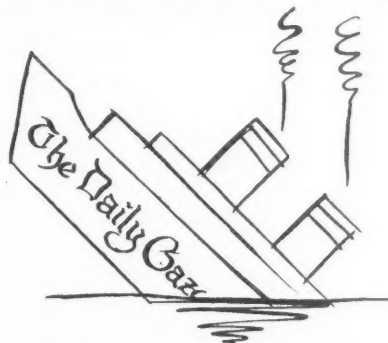
B. Last Act: Entrance of the Miraculous Undertakers

In an age when even God must deny persistent rumors of his death it is heartening to behold the faith of a failing newspaper publisher. If it is suggested that he hire more reporters and give additional space to news stories, he recoils from the blatant obviousness of such actions. What he pines for, with the immaculate innocence of eternal childhood, is a pre-packaged, C.O.D. miracle. He rolls out the red carpet for this supernatural visitation by engaging a public relations counsel to revamp the "image" of his paper for a rock-bottom retainer of \$2,000 a month. The next step is to hire a dynamic editor who has shown his mettle on twenty-five previous jobs — almost all of short duration. This repeating-action Merlin rips the newspaper's format apart, remodeling it to convince the readers that they are getting an entirely new paper, although nothing has been added except a typographic circus-act and chaos in the composing room. Merlin's next step is to pack the executive echelons with the gypsy band of irregulars who have accompanied him on his previous forays. Since every executive circus needs an appropriate sideshow, Merlin will expand his cast to include a full spectrum of freakish feature writers, bizarre columnists, and verbal insult-comics to romp through the day's news like a mass break-out from Bedlam. A few hundred thousand dollars in radio and television commercials should be enough to tell the public where the freak-show is playing. But such is the perversity of the general public that it will revel

in the hoopla, ask "What else is new?" and buy a rival newspaper to find out.

With his faith undimmed by the shattering of his staff and the conversion of his enterprise into a stranded carnival, the publisher fires his Merlin and takes on an all-department wonder-worker.

Whatever his other abilities may be, this Last-Chance Superman bounds into the arena with a strong instinct for personal survival. A cursory glance at the corporate seismograph tells him that the structure is shaky and about to come down on his head. Effective renovation would take ten



years, but he is expected to show results immediately. He follows the one course left open to him — a breakneck economy drive. Initially, he lays off a specified number of employees in several departments, exercising care to detour around those inflamed by union activists. Not that he's afraid of unions — no sir! When union contracts are up for renewal, he boldly serves notice that he is "not going to be pushed around" by union leaders. That engraves his steely image on the public consciousness. Greater austerity becomes the watchword, and it works about as well as cutting off the plant's water supply. The union boys now have all the ammunition they need to get a unanimous strike vote from their membership. Superman, ever the first to hear the death-rattle, dons his cape and soars off over the rooftops to a better-paid job on another distressed publication, leaving the publisher to hold the sack. The rest of the staff, enraged beyond reason, walks out in a body, remaining on strike until the newspaper becomes one with Nineveh and Tyre.

GENE GLEASON

Gene Gleason, a free-lance writer, was a newspaperman for twenty-six years with The Plain Dealer in Cleveland, The Associated Press, and the New York Herald Tribune.

Behind the myth of "editorial policy"

By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.

The Washington economic community includes several hundred people, in and out of government. When they get together as often as not someone will raise a point in a manner something like this:

"Did you see 'Y' is taking off against the new economists again. What's eating him, anyway?"

Who is Y?

To the thousands in the Washington metropolitan area who read that genuinely fine newspaper, *The Washington Post*, Y is not an individual at all. He is the *Post*.

Y is an editorial writer. And only the closed community of experts realizes that it is Y, not *The Washington Post* (whatever that may be as an institution), who decides whether the investment tax credit or the monetary policy of the Federal Reserve Board or anything else economic is good or bad. Not one of us sits in at the *Post's* editorial board meetings. But we all know as surely as we know what we ate for breakfast that Y — not something called the *Post* — determined the attitude of the editorial page on the things we are familiar with.

Even the non-journalists among us, with some exceptions, have gradually become aware of how editorial pages really work. I was an editorial writer once, but I do not rely primarily on that experience for my conclusion, which is:

On all but a few truly major items (what presidential candidate to support, whether to back or oppose the war in Viet Nam) editorials in American newspapers are the product of the personal opinion or judgment of one man.

He does not sign his name, as a columnist does.

The whole system works that way. The man is hired for good reason as capable or even expert in a field and as generally in sympathy with the orientation of the paper (insofar as that can be determined). He reads thoroughly in his subject. He goes to the morning editorial conference and proposes an

editorial in his field. There is desultory, and necessarily brief, discussion of what he suggests. The editorial board chief then may make a decision or two about which subjects to write about at all.

But after the conference breaks up, our man knows only that he is to write the subject he brought up. The rest is entirely up to him. Barring a major challenge by the editorial board chief (himself, of course, merely an individual with individual opinions), what he writes appears as is.

Who is to quarrel with it?

Not the publisher. He has too much else to do to care that much about the paper's stand on the Guatemalan insurrection or even on the latest court decision on school integration.

(R. L. Duffus, a retired editorial writer for *The New York Times*, tells in a *Times Talk* notice on the death of his colleague Otto Tolischus of the time when the two of them decided that the Emperor of Japan should resign soon after World War II, and one of them so wrote. The next day they got a note from Mr. Sulzberger, the publisher, which suggested, according to Mr. Duffus, "that when we wished to advocate the abdication of a ruling monarch we might let him know ahead of time.")

Nor in most cases does the head of the editorial board interfere. He is not an expert in the field. He has hired his man as qualified, and no one is going to gain if the boss constantly quarrels with the man.

And certainly not our man's colleagues. For they have their own work to do. Unless I am gravely mistaken, the other editorial writers on most papers — perhaps all — do not even see the piece until it appears in print.

So who is the check or balance against our man's opinion? The answer, of course, is no one.

The results are interesting. A case can be made — the Secretary of State, among others, is convinced it is true — that *The New York Times* opposes the war in Viet Nam because one man, John Oakes opposed it. (Obviously, in this case, Mr. Oakes could not have carried the day against the will of the publisher.) *The Washington Post* has alienated at least half of the taxi drivers I talk with because of the personal views of a series of men starting with Alan Barth on police procedures and civil liberties.

These are cases important enough genuinely to commit the whole paper, and where my one-man rule is actually the least relevant. Nor am I talking about major campaigns against or for something, from firearms to local corruption. These can be, and often are, a genuine expression of the will of the

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publisher, perhaps sometimes inspired by one or more editorial writers. But I am talking about the bulk of each day's editorial page, in the bulk of American newspapers — the four or five editorials a day on everything from the anti-riot bill through the local budget to the government's farm programs.

Assuming for sake of argument that this is not an altogether desirable situation, what can be done about it?

The answer cannot be collective editorials. Committees have never written anything well. Adding the joint un wisdom about economics of his colleagues would not improve Y's editorials in *The Washington Post*.

The answer cannot be more personal attention by the publisher. It is intellectually impossible as well as physically impracticable.

The answer is not abolishing the editorial page. *Le Monde* of Paris has none and some British papers

limit themselves to a single editorial a day. But the tradition is too deep here.

The answer is not that the editorials should be signed. This would make them simply columns and would destroy the agreeable illusion among the readers that the "paper" is saying thus and so. The idea has some merit in logic, but again it runs against an understandably tenacious tradition.

In fact there is no answer, from the point of view of the newspapers. The answer lies entirely on the side of the readers, particularly the sophisticated readers.

It is simple: Either do not read the editorials or, if you do, recognize that three-quarters of them are of no greater or lesser merit and significance than the column of Joseph Alsop or David Lawrence or Marquis Childs next door. They are one man's opinion or assessment, and worth being valued only as that.

The Times-Union Christmas Fund for Needy Old People

Provision for Poor—A Test of Humanity—Story on Page 8

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117TH YEAR—VOL. 211 ALBANY, N.Y. MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1967 10 CENTS

Klan Report Tells Story Of Terrors

The New York Times—The Times-Union has an editorial on the subject of the Klan. It is a story of the Klan's activities in the South. It is a story of the Klan's activities in the South. It is a story of the Klan's activities in the South.

Drug-Hopped Foe's Attack Chopped Up by U.S. Fire



Twisters Rip Into Florida, Leave Chaos

The New York Times—The Times-Union has an editorial on the subject of the Klan. It is a story of the Klan's activities in the South. It is a story of the Klan's activities in the South. It is a story of the Klan's activities in the South.

The gullible West

Readers of *The Times-Union*, Albany, New York, (and of many other papers) saw the AP lead story shown here in the issue of December 11, 1967. But most of the public was deprived of the obscure follow-up story of December 16, shown as presented in *The New York Times*. (Thanks to Nat Hentoff, Village Voice.)

Packets Found on Foe Not Heroin, U.S. Says

SAIGON, South Vietnam, Dec. 16 (AP)—An investigation has determined that enemy soldiers killed in fighting north of Saigon last Sunday were not carrying heroin, as reported after the battle, a spokesman for the United States First Infantry Division said today.

He said that small packets of white powder found on the battlefield had been analyzed and found to contain potassium permanganate, a disinfectant and fungicide; copper sulphate used as a fungicide; calcium hydrate, used as a water purifier; antibiotics, and ordinary soap.

The attack last weekend, in which 124 enemy soldiers were killed, took place about 50 miles north of Saigon.

There have been numerous reports of enemy soldiers using drugs, but, so far as could be determined, none of these reports has ever been confirmed.

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A Southern Hamlet

W. J. CASH: SOUTHERN PROPHET. By Joseph L. Morrison. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. \$6.95.

A North Carolinian born and bred reads a biography of W. J. Cash much as one might witness still another production of *Hamlet*. He knows the end, but hopes that this time it won't happen, yet knows his hope is fanciful and futile, however compelling it may be. W. J. Cash did hang himself, in a hotel room in Mexico City, on July 1, 1941, and no degree of squirming or helpless, hopeless wishing will alter the inalterable catastrophe. And so one re-lives the terrible regret, the incalculable loss, and wonders again why it had to be so.

Having progressed so far with the metaphor, one can logically project it: W. J. Cash was a Hamlet of the South; he set out to punish not a hated stepfather but a beloved father, the South itself, and he suffered such indecision and doubt and reluctance that for months at the time he could not write at all. Joseph L. Morrison's biography does not explicitly employ the Shakespearean parallel, but it is there unspoken nevertheless — the writing "block," the excuses, the illness at times real, at times imagined or invented, the other causes and purposes that delayed the writing of his masterpiece, and its completion in a frenzy of toil. And, finally, suicide.

And even more: The land that Cash dramatized and dissected and chastized, explained, and grieved for in *The Mind of the South* was and is, itself, a Hamlet land. It has never been quite able to make up its mind what it wanted to do and be, or just what deplorable wrong it should right, what vast good it should do. As Cash made clear, it has been a land of justice and a land of the most dismal and destructive injustice. In its slave days it pretended to a pervasive gentility, refinement, and culture, and maintained fiercely and ferociously that most uncivilized of institutions, slavery. Slavery abolished, it sought a New South of commerce and industry, and succeeded only in moving the plantation from country to mill town. In the throes of its industrialization, in its embrace of Rotary and Kiwanis and

the new respectability of money-grubbing, it nevertheless cherished the myth of the Old South of white mansions, contented slaves, and the colonel on the veranda and the lady in the parlor. And basic to all its neuroses there remain, in large areas, its divided, eternally warring attitudes toward the Negro: love and hate, help and abuse — concern for the Negro's immortal soul, yet a view of him as a sub-human that grew out of a psychologically necessary rationalization and justification. The South is that phenomenon, a large area of the globe absurdly afflicted with schizophrenia. Little wonder that some of its sons, and among them some of its most eminent, know the same pride and grief, suffer the same dreadful division of loyalties and intellects. The wonder, at times, is that they cling at all to sanity.

Morrison's biography runs to 174 pages; the rest of the book, some 130 pages, is devoted to a "Cash Reader." Here we read an editorial that Cash wrote when he was the editor of the student newspaper at Wake Forest College; a sampling of his editorials, features and book reviews for the *Charlotte News* and his articles in *The American Mercury*; a letter to his father; a commencement address at the University of Texas; and his last known piece of writing, a quite rational, balanced and perceptive essay about Mexico that he wrote a few days before his death. Here we find the brilliant (pre-capitulations, so to speak, of the thesis of his book); the angry (his response to Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy); the embarrassing (Easter and Christmas editorials for the *Charlotte News* of the sort that many editors believe they must publish seasonally); and a tasteless and (in view of Cash's end) horrifying comment upon suicide. This spectrum of quality will dismay no newspaperman. The journalist must write so much that his failures will be many. But one can question the propriety of including, among the collected works of a brilliant man, editorials about Christmas and Easter and a misbegotten attempt at humor on the subject of self-destruction.

Otherwise, Morrison's is a book that students of the South everywhere, including those who live and work in the South, can read with profit. It explains Cash, and so in large part explains his great book. Morrison has carefully, almost tenderly, presented the life of this brilliant, doomed man: He was born in a mill village in South Carolina, the member of a deeply Baptist family; lived most of his life in North Carolina; was an average student (but a good college newspaper writer and editor); struggled and suffered to write *The Mind of the South*; dreaded

its reception in the South; was pleased by its largely enthusiastic welcome everywhere; married happily; finally got a Guggenheim grant; went off to Mexico to write.

There, alone in a hotel, he hanged himself with his necktie. Why? Morrison does his painful best to explain. The road to suicide was richly marked in Cash's life. He suffered from neurosis and an abundance of physical ills. He once said that perhaps the suicide was, in the end, the real man of courage. He sometimes drank too much, often despaired, for long periods was unable to write at all, feared he was impotent, wept easily in cathedrals and at the grave of Thomas Wolfe. He often became enraged by the bestial excesses of the Nazis and Fascists. On the way to Mexico with his wife he had a fit of rage the cause of which he was later unable to recall. In Mexico, on the night of June 30, 1941, he heard voices — the voices of Nazis outside the apartment planning to kill one or both of them. The next day he killed himself.

Yet many of the markers on that road have been false ones. The real nemesis may not have been psychological but physiological. Cash had conquered, or learned to endure, his neurosis; drink was not a problem; he was happily married; he had completed a great book and was planning more. The seemingly abrupt onset of his fatal delusions leads Morrison to seek other causes, and he does so persuasively and learnedly. For some time Cash had suffered from disorientation, loss of depth perception, and an apparent failure of a portion of his intellect (in Mexico he was utterly unable to learn Spanish). His difficulties worsened with night; he had "paranoid delusions" and "auditory hallucinations," and entered "a great state of fear." These symptoms, Morrison writes, characterize what modern psychiatry calls "acute brain syndrome" that can develop slowly but typically becomes critical in a relatively short time. Cash had suffered brain damage. His final delirium resulted from cerebral incompetence that was "almost certainly toxic in origin." "The toxins operating on Cash derived, in all likelihood," Morrison says, "from an infection, the nature of which is, of course, unknown to this day."

The post-mortem seems as nearly complete as the post-mortem that Cash performed upon the body and the mind of the South.

HOKE NORRIS

Hoke Norris, a native of North Carolina and a graduate of Wake Forest College, is literary editor of the Chicago Sun-Times.

Publishers' history

THREE TO ZERO, THE STORY OF THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF THE WORLD JOURNAL TRIBUNE. By Joseph Sage. American Newspaper Publishers Association, New York, \$2.00.

One expects a book printed by the American Newspaper Publishers Association to come up with a one-word explanation for the demise of the *World Journal Tribune*, the word being UNIONS.

Joseph Sage's *Three to Zero* does not disappoint the expectation. Sage does a thorough and highly factual job of documenting the unions' role in hindering, harassing, and helping to bury the \$42 million disaster that was the *WJT*.

But Sage, a former editorial writer at the *WJT* and at the *World-Telegram* before that, also assigns a share of the responsibility to the troika of publishers whose tactics and decisions opened the floodgates to excessive union demands. Sage criticizes the publishers rather indirectly, but at least they get some of the blame due them.

Sage concludes that the incredible overhead forced on the *WJT* owners by the newspaper unions made it impossible for the new venture to succeed.

He reminds readers of former New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner's reputed quip that the city's publishers and unions deserved each other. Certainly the *WJT* owners, John Hay Whitney (*Herald Tribune*), William Randolph Hearst, Jr. (*Journal-American*), and Jack Howard (*World-Telegram and Sun*) paved the way for the unions' by not merging their three papers in the traditional, heartless manner — suddenly, without warning — and presenting their employees with a *fait accompli*. It is likely that the lesson of the *WJT* will not be lost on other merger-inclined publishers across the country and the next time papers join, staffs will learn of it sometime before dawn, when the telegrams of regret are delivered.

What prevented the New York trio from acting like hard-headed businessmen? Probably vanity. They proudly announced their intention in print weeks in advance, giving the unions ample opportunity to react.

The demands ranged from the reasonable and humane to the outrageous. And the unions won almost all of them. The *WJT* opened after a highly damaging strike with 500 superfluous employees, a greater overtime burden than its competitors (craft unions, rather than publication schedules, dictated

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starting times), and such a strict seniority system (imposed by the Newspaper Guild) that the advertising department was crippled and the editorial floor badly hindered.

What the publishers might have done, Sage hints, was fold two of the three papers and continue the third under troika control. But three publishers apparently were too proud of the name-plates with which they had been associated to let their papers disappear without a trace.

Although it was editorially the best paper of the three, the *Herald Tribune* was the weakest economically. Yet Hearst and Howard — gentlemen not noted for their largesse when it comes to their newspapers — agreed at Whitney's insistence to let the moribund morning paper continue and even chipped in to build an expensive newsroom for it in the *World-Telegram* building. In addition, dozens of highly paid Trib executives remained on the *WJT* payroll through the strike.

Yet after the *Trib* was dropped during the long strike (when it became clear it could never regain its readership or lineage), Whitney lost interest in the *WJT*, Sage writes, and stopped paying his assessments. This meant the price for Howard and Hearst (burdens they could not write off their taxes) would have been considerably greater if they had decided to continue publishing.

Sage tends to speed past the errors of management and to concentrate on the sins of the unions. He is probably correct in his emphasis. The suicidal efforts of the *WJT* publishers were puny compared to the homicidal efforts of the unions.

If nothing else, Sage's book brought the *WJT* tragedy — in which I was a bit player — into clearer focus for me. I can recall how outraged I was when I learned that one of our publishers was charging off his personal telephone bills (several hundred dollars a month) to the *WJT* editorial budget. I was too shortsighted at the time to see how small that telephone bill was compared to the salaries of the hundreds of craft union members who stood around the building idly chatting all day because there wasn't enough work for them.

Sage writes that salaries for the 500 excess employees hired at the unions' insistence cost the *WJT*

\$5 million. It would have taken a lifetime of long-distance and trans-oceanic phoning to do that kind of damage.

GEORGE MERLIS

George Merlis was day city editor of the World Journal Tribune and is now with ABC News. He wrote "A Word for the Dead," an article on the WJT, in the summer, 1967, issue.

Preservers of the peace

RACE AND THE NEWS MEDIA. Edited by Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein. Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York. \$4.95.

The publication of this modest compilation of speeches and summaries from a November, 1965, conference of newsmen sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League and the University of Missouri Freedom of Information Center marks a milestone in the literature of American journalism. Not since 1922, when Frederick Detweiler's *The Negro Press* appeared, has there been a major book devoted to race in the news. Since then, G. James Fleming's unpublished manuscript for Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944) and occasional articles and monographs constitute the bulk of the literature on a subject which is probably as important as any in the entire field of race relations.

Meanwhile, library shelves buckle from the mass of books on major civil rights triumphs and disasters, their implications for the society, and the memorabilia of the personages who played roles in each of them. Of the authors, newsmen far outnumber writers from any other profession. Yet this 159-page volume stands alone as a book-length account of the interminable newsroom struggles that reporters and editors have undergone since the fateful 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

One reason for this lack of introspection is that the media's vaunted aggressiveness in reporting the news is applied to nearly everybody's business but its own. And newsmen know that knocking the business is not exactly the best way of getting ahead in it. The careers of the late A. J. Liebling and Ben H.

Bagdikian, who has picked up the torch, are the exceptions to the rule.

This is not to suggest that the contributors to this volume knock the media in the Liebling style. Far from it. But Ted Poston, the *New York Post's* veteran Negro reporter, comes closest with an incisive commentary on the "sins" of the Southern press and the "sophistries" of its Northern counterpart. Particularly caustic are his remarks on how the New York newspapers, including his own, recklessly responded to the threatened "stall-in" on the opening day of the New York World's Fair.

The contributors' comments predate the "Black Power" movement and its condemnation of the "white" press as well as last summer's severe riots. The editors are to be faulted for not satisfactorily placing the book's contents in a more topical perspective. A hasty postscript — updated from a conference background paper — does not do the job.

But the book serves the most salutary purpose of providing additional testimony to the fact that the media is not just an observer of the civil rights struggle, but is also right in the thick of it. Several of the volume's twenty short pieces reflect a mood of deep concern about the awesome responsibility imposed on the media by their participation.

Lawrence S. Fanning, the executive editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, speaks directly to the point:

... When officials, in both North and South, say to newsmen, "The demonstrators would go away if you would," they may not be wildly off the mark. This is not to agree, even remotely, with the people who call the civil rights demonstrators "publicity-seeking trouble-makers," but to underline the fact that a movement with limited financial resources cannot buy space to get its message across. It cannot buy newspapers or television stations. Either we find the machinery to open up our media to the civil rights movement or we recognize the movement's need to employ some device to open us up.

By the early 1960's, then, it was no longer certain whether these demonstrations were protests against injustice or extravaganzas for the mass media. A second consequence was the silent, implicit pressure by the media on the various civil rights organizations to put on bigger and better shows. Whereas 100 arrests once managed to attract our collective attention, we began to look for 500. Unquestionably, this fact of life has deflected the civil rights movement from other things it might have done. The quieter tactics which many of today's ... civil rights leaders favor over ex-

plosive protestations, starve for lack of attention. . . .

The contributors suggest a number of ways that the media can play a more positive role, including more "in depth" reporting and better coverage of constructive projects and events, but it seems to this reviewer that Fanning's statement, as well as those of the other contributors, only allude to the essence of the problem — or what a Negro streetcorner man might call the "nitty gritty."

The opinion here is that Black Power advocates, as well as Bernard Roscho in the last issue of the *Review*, are correct in their assessment that the media are essentially "white." That this is literally true — for newspapers, at least — is supported by a 1966 American Newspaper Guild survey which could find only sixty Negro newsmen working on daily metropolitan newspapers among the 50,000 reporters, copyreaders, photographers, and deskmen estimated by the U. S. Census Bureau.

These comparative figures reflect the media's position in the Established Social Order which — as distinguished from "The Establishment" — includes all individuals and institutions seeking to preserve the *status quo*. By this rationale, industrialists and politicians, policemen and racketeers are intricately bound into a system designed to provide for human needs and wants — whether the demand be for more automobiles or more marijuana. Thus the system tolerates a certain amount of social deviance as long as "law and order," or more accurately, the "domestic tranquillity" is preserved.

The media's alliance with the *status quo* is explicit in the only statement identified as "extemporaneous" by the editors. The following is extracted from the remarks by Hodding Carter III, managing editor of the Greenville (Mississippi) *Delta Democrat-Times*.

I think that the many failures of the Southern press, when there have been failures, go back to a particularly human desire not to alienate, not to be alienated from, the small communities in which one lives. This is over and above the fact that most newspapers in America today, no matter where they are — and I wish it were not so — are in a large sense representatives of the *status quo*. Transfer the profession of journalism and this particular truism to the South and you have this: the country club in the South that the publisher or the editor goes to has a system of values entirely different from that of the country club that the newsman somewhere else may go to. The *status quo* is the *status quo*, and geography and history

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make a vast difference in the attitude of the editor toward his society.

The underemployed or unskilled Negro serves the country clubs of America as waiter or dishwasher, rather than patron, in a society which has historically relegated him to the dirty work. And now that manual labor jobs are disappearing, the question involving the poor unskilled Negro is one of extreme alienation, to wit: Who needs him?

Thus the media and the other agents of the *status quo* addressed themselves to the problems of unemployment and education in the ghetto only after the unskilled Negro vented his frustrations through wholesale rioting or satisfied his wants through looting and increased crime in the streets. Action in behalf of poor Negroes is not, as editorial writers like to proclaim, a reaffirmation of democracy, but rather a way of preserving the peace, the *status quo* — not at any price, but within the limits of budgetary priorities, such as the Viet Nam war and the moon.

But the media's position in the social order is not the entire story of why they are not a better source of social enlightenment. Even if every newspaper and television outlet had the resources and the altruism of *The New York Times*, the very nature of news — its race against time, its emphasis on visibility or effects rather than causes, its priority to conflict and controversy — would limit the media's capacity for playing a progressive role. The problem of reconciling its dual function of agent of the *status quo* and purveyor of news is indicated by Martin S. Hayden, editor-in-chief of *The Detroit News*: "Daily our editors try to balance two institutional obligations that are sometimes incompatible: first, to report the news; second, to preserve the peace."

It seems, however, that some media representatives are placing Mr. Hayden's second obligation ahead of the first by providing their executive offices for off-the-record discussions on racial problems. This procedure is advocated in a piece on "Watts and the Need for Press Involvement" by James Bassett, editorial-page editor of the *Los Angeles Times*. He gives this account of post-Watts events:

Every day for two weeks, hours at a stretch, the *Times*' publisher, Otis Chandler, and his

editors conferred with key representatives of the Negro community, with welfare directors, and with a host of Presidential trouble shooters who hurried into Los Angeles that month. These talks were off the record. We weren't seeking news. We wanted facts upon which to base a responsible, effective approach to this complex problem.

Thus the newspaper not only suppressed self-generated news, but also abrogated functions which should be performed under the aegis of the city's elected officials. Mr. Chandler's antipathy to Mayor Sam Yorty may be justified, but the fact is that it is mayors, not publishers, who are directly accountable to the people.

After working for seven years in Washington, D. C., where the predominantly Negro citizenry can vote only in Presidential elections, the reviewer somewhat suspects "shadow" government and governors. In the absence of home rule in the nation's capital, the city's respected *Post* and *Star* help fill the power vacuum, but so do such sundry groups as parking lot operators and liquor dealers who have somehow endeared themselves to the ruling Congress. Thus liquor taxes, which might be directed toward the city's crumbling school system, are kept so low that booze in Washington is priced as cheaply as any place in the country, and the city is just beginning to build a badly needed subway system.

Contrary to Mr. Bassett's suggestion, the reviewer feels that the media should think at least twice before becoming even more involved as participants in the racial struggle. First, newsmen need to reassess what a sociologist might call their value orientations: their news, business and social responsibilities. Second, they need to reevaluate their judgment of news and how it can be presented in the interest of all the people, rich and poor, white and black.

If newsmen cannot make such a soul-searching scrutiny, then some other institution should make it for them. For first steps on how this might be done, while adding *Race and the News Media* to your bookshelves, dust off your copy of the much-ignored *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947), better known as *The Hutchins Report*.

LUTHER P. JACKSON

Luther P. Jackson, a 1967-1968 Russell Sage Fellow in Journalism and the Behavioral Sciences at Columbia, has been director of Communicating Research on the Urban Poor (CROSS-TELL) and a reporter on The Washington Post.

Shouldn't a magazine have a letters column — The New Yorker, for instance?

A rather heated exchange of letters appeared in November, 1967, in the correspondence columns of *The Nation* and of *The New York Review of Books*. Arthur I. Waskow, fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, who had been a prominent participant in the New Politics convention held in Chicago in September, charged that his position on a much-discussed "Black Caucus" resolution had been grossly misrepresented in Renata Adler's long account of the proceedings. What is of special interest here is that her report had appeared in neither of these two publications, but in *The New Yorker*.

The substantive question was whether or not Waskow had argued "... that a list of thirteen proposals submitted, along with an ultimatum, to the convention by what was called the Black Caucus should be endorsed without modification of any kind, regardless of the substance of the individual proposals..." from which interpretation Miss Adler made the further judgment "that this implied a paternalistic white racism that would startle a South African plantation owner..." The journalistic question centered on *The New Yorker's* refusal to print a letter from Waskow taking exception to these statements. William Shawn, editor of *The New Yorker*, would agree only to publish a short note under the heading "Department of Amplification" — not from Waskow but from Miss Adler — which Waskow rejected as quoting him "utterly out of context and meaning" and "in a deliberately caricatured version of his own voice."

To an outsider, the substantive question seems easy to answer. The available record supports Mr. Waskow's claim that his efforts at Chicago, and the resolution he offered, were consistently

directed toward establishing a working rapprochement between the Black Caucus and the white participants *without* committing the latter to an endorsement of the substance of all the highly publicized "thirteen points." Miss Adler's conviction that Mr. Waskow's written statements were afterthoughts contradictory to what he actually said at the convention is not shared by other reporters who were present. This part of the question is moot, however, since she rested her case in *The Nation* and *The New York Review of Books* on the proposition that the opening clause of the long Waskow resolution — which proposed that the thirteen points "be accepted as one document of this convention" — was synonymous with *endorsement*. It was not so understood by others.

Apart from the merits of the argument, the journalistic question remains. It is hardly a new one. What are the responsibilities of a self-respecting publication to some one who, like Waskow, believes that he has been "trauded in its pages," outside the limited area of what may be actionable at law? *The New Yorker*, like *Reader's Digest*, does not print a letters-from-readers column; why it does not and whether it ought to is a separate, though clearly related, subject for discussion. *The New Yorker's* increasing involvement in political interpretation may make its correspondence policy difficult to sustain. Miss Adler's polemical report on the New Politics convention is only an extreme example of this tendency, which is making *The New Yorker* in large part a journal of opinion in the same sense as *The Nation* and *The New York Review of Books*.

Meanwhile, however, does the magazine not have an obligation to Waskow and others similarly aggrieved by tendentious reporting to print their versions of such disputed characterizations in their own words, subject to reasonable limitations of length and libel? Some fresh comments on this old issue are in order — from Mr. Shawn and from other editors for whom the shoe pinches.

LEONARD C. LEWIN

Leonard C. Lewin is a free-lance writer, who described a controversy between The New Yorker and New York magazine in the winter, 1966, issue of the Review.

Report on reports

The following are summaries and reviews of articles and other current material dealing with journalism. They were prepared by the editor with assistance from the editorial staff.

"Group Ownership of Newspapers," by Ronald L. Bot-tini, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION CENTER OF REPORT NO. 190, School of Journalism, University of Missouri.

This is a much-needed pamphlet, bringing up to date figures on the growth of newspaper groups (or chains) at a time when the federal government appears less and less tolerant of such expansion.

The statistics for the 1960's are striking: From 1960 to 1966, 207 daily newspapers passed into or were founded by group ownership; the number of multiple ownerships grew by 38 to 156 controlling a total of 786 of the country's 1,700 newspapers. Even more strikingly, the proportion of daily circulation held by groups grew from 46.1 per cent in 1960 to 57.0 per cent in 1966, thus marking this as the decade in which, for the first time, more than half of American daily newspaper circulation came under group control.

The statistics are accompanied by a well-balanced discussion of the implications of group ownership, concluding with the suggestion that public and government opposition to the groups is bound to increase.

"Henry Luce and His Time," by Joseph Epstein, COMMENTARY, November, 1967.

A young journalist offers a substantial appraisal of the work of the most celebrated American magazine publisher of this century. (Luce died early in 1967.) Epstein assembles complicated and conflicting judgments — as might be expected in the case of such a figure — but offers for himself a negative estimate in the end: "There was in Luce all that

energy, all that religious zeal to do good, and it all came to so little. Through the agency of his magazines, he confused more issues than he clarified, harmed more people than he helped, and contributed more to the Gross National Product than to American culture."

"The Hate Hour," by John Gregory Dunne. SATURDAY EVENING POST, December 2, 1967.

A *Saturday Evening Post* columnist gives a tongue-in-cheek analysis of the rise of a phenomenon of late-night television and radio. The hate hour, for those who have the wisdom to switch off their sets immediately after the 11 p.m. news, is the time when personalities like Joe Pyne, Alan Burke, and Louis Lomax operate talk shows featuring a variety of people pushing causes and ideas often far from the mainstream of rationality.

Dunne says: "There is something for every warped taste . . . the conservative moderator nailing a liberal guest (or vice versa), the call-in shows, the multiple guest shows, the audience-participation shows. Lesbians, hookers, hopheads, acidheads, knee-jerk Communists, racists, Black Nationalists, Minutemen (one of whom thought Robert Welch was a 'Com-symp') have been my late night companions . . . I have heard a young Brownshirt tell me Hitler merely got a bad press, a barely nubile girl discuss the advantages of oral contraceptives, a gentleman advance a plan for transporting five or ten million Negroes back to the old country in Africa . . ."

Dunne believes that the shows elicit envy rather than disgust. Yet even he does not claim that the hate hour is television's finest.

"The Press and the Bay of Pigs," by Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon. THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY FORUM, Fall, 1967.

Two men who have been associated with *The Nation* retrace here the reluctance of American media to print information on preparations in Guatemala for the disastrous American-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1961. In this accounting, *The Nation* and the *York Gazette and Daily of Pennsylvania* are the heroes; *The New York Times*, the reluctant giant; and AP and UPI the heavies. The authors pile up many convincing details that show that American journalism at large really did not want to

hear about the affair. They conclude that the press was "motivated not so much by patriotic reticence as by eager jingoistic collaboration." Their thesis — "that most of the press decides for or against cooperation with government not on any basis of principle, but on the basis of the issue" — is both sweeping and damning. In fact, it seems almost too much to load on this single case.

"TV's Autumn of Reappraisal," by Robert C. Albrook. FORTUNE, October, 1967.

An associate editor of *Fortune* describes the labyrinthine strategies governing inter-network competition this season. The industry is fretsome, he reports, over possible disaffection of viewers and is offering 330 specials while demoting the old staple weekly series format. The economics remains the same — CBS and NBC make modest money on their network operations (\$51 million and \$37 million, respectively) and ABC loses (\$9 million). But all three cash in heavily on their total of fifteen owned-and-operated stations, which earned \$108 million, or 41 per cent of gross revenues, before taxes in 1966.

"The New Sound of Radio," by William H. Honan. THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, December 3, 1967.

The new radio, says the writer, is specialized — especially in the New York market area, where sixty-three stations operate. He surveys the multitude of sound patterns — rock, talk, news, classic, ethnic, and others. One notable incidental piece of information is included: WQXR, the station of *The New York Times*, is charged with airing a false and dangerous rumor during the Newark rioting last summer.

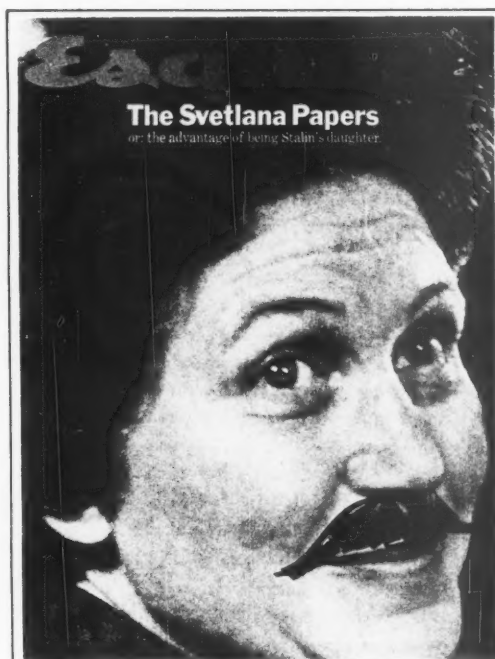
"The Svetlana Papers," by Garry Wills and Ovid Demaris. ESQUIRE, November, 1967.

This near-book-length article painstakingly retraces the odyssey of Svetlana Stalina Alliluyeva, centering primarily on the negotiations for American rights to the manuscript of her book, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*. The article incidentally represents another installment in *Esquire's* obsession with

The New York Times and its dominant personalities. But it does give insight into the effects of personal relationships among top New York news and publishing executives — and their lawyers.

The article also shows the problems that reporters encounter in covering deals in which their own editors and managements are involved. Example: The *Times* reporter covering that paper's attempts to capture serial rights was unable to obtain essential facts from his own superiors. Instead, they merely "corrected" the reporter if he strayed too far from what they knew to be the inside facts, according to *Esquire*.

The Svetlana case, following by less than a year the unappetizing clash over William Manchester's *The Death of a President*, may give news media reason to think twice about further ventures in "checkbook journalism." The buyers may have expected a runaway winner when they paid \$1.1 million for publication rights to *Twenty Letters*. But the tepid public response suggests that the publishing moguls of the East may be just as likely to get carried away by the bidding as farm wives at a country auction.



Esquire said that its Svetlana cover drew more adverse comment than any since it ran Sonny Liston as Santa Claus

FOLLOW-UP

In the fall, 1967, issue, Richard Halloran of *The Washington Post* described, in an article called "The Chrysanthemum Curtain," restrictions on the flow of news from Japan imposed by Japanese press clubs. The article below offers an analysis of a different type of inhibition, imposed by an East European government.

Poland: the problem of expulsion

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM

Expulsion of American foreign correspondents is perhaps the most extreme form of attempts by foreign governments to control the news of their country reaching United States readers. In most serious expulsions the government apparently believes that the value of having the communications link with American readers, including their government, has been exceeded by the alleged harm caused by the correspondent's "negative views," or "tendentious reporting," or whatever the charge. The reporter is ordered out.

To a communist who believes that if an event does not help further communism then it is not news, an American reporter prying into internal party affairs or relations between two communist countries such as Poland and the Soviet Union can be seen as a threat to national security or party unity. But an American reporter expelled by a foreign government, particularly communist ones, is generally regarded in this country as a kind of hero or martyr who refused to sacrifice his principles of news judgment to pressures and threats. If communists don't like him, so the thinking goes, he must be all right.

Some recent research into the problems of American newsmen reporting from Poland reveals that a different view of expulsion is held by many of the persons most intimately involved — the correspondents themselves. Their attitude could have a serious

effect on the news of that country that reaches American readers.

There are only three American correspondents permanently stationed in Poland. They represent United Press International, The Associated Press, and *The New York Times*. Reuters, which has some American clients, also has stationed a man in Warsaw.

These experienced reporters are supplemented by visiting correspondents who drop in from Bonn, Berlin, Paris, London, or Vienna on periodic swings through East Europe. But their stays in Poland are measured in days and weeks, not months and years, and do not expose them to the concerted efforts at control experienced by the resident reporters.

In the Stalinist days of 1946 through the early 1950's, reporters with experience in Poland say, the attempts to control them were blunt and unsophisticated. Correspondents received threatening notes and phone calls. They were followed constantly, and threatened with lengthy jail terms if they did not write "favorable news." Some were even jailed.

Today, they say, the regime has matured in its methods. There is no official censorship or "compulsory improvement of style," as one reporter called it. Newsmen, especially if they are newly assigned, are summoned often to the press and information department of the foreign ministry in a Warsaw building said to have been the headquarters for Poland's Gestapo during World War II. They are berated for "subjective" reporting or urged not to be so negative in their news reports. During these meetings, the threat of expulsion is often implied.

For the new reporter in Poland this routine is a test to see how much he can be intimidated. For old-timers it is a reminder. One problem is that "negative" or "subjective" reporting is not defined. One reporter may be summoned for "infractions" that appear in others' dispatches as well. "What's policy at noon may not be at three," one reporter said.

To the correspondents, the government policy appears to be one of planned uncertainty to keep them

Andrew H. Malcolm is a news assistant on the foreign desk of The New York Times. His article is based on research conducted for a master's degree thesis in journalism at Northwestern University. The research was financed by grants from the Council for Inter-Societal Studies at Northwestern and The Minneapolis Star and Tribune. Anonymity was promised to all who contributed to the research.



guessing. Reporters never know the exact violations that might lead to expulsion.

The officials do not censor stories before they are transmitted to the West. That job is shifted to the correspondent. The government evidently hopes that, through his fear and uncertainty over exactly what will get him expelled, the newsman will censor more than the government would. The reporter is forced, as one newsman put it, to balance "between bad reporting through excessive caution and foolhardy reporting which one knows will result in expulsion."

The Poles seem to favor expulsion of individual newsmen as opposed to expelling news organizations because the former action allows communications with the West to be re-established after a short period of time and with a new reporter who may be more susceptible to pressures.

The actual expulsion can be done in several ways. The government simply can tell the reporter to get out or refuse to renew his visa. Either way, the reporter's stay and his news coverage of Poland are officially terminated.

This has happened at least nine times in Poland in the past ten years.*

The threat of expulsion does not mean the same to every American reporter in Poland. For a newspaper's correspondent, expulsion might mean moving expenses and temporary dislocation, but at no time would the paper be without coverage of Poland. In the case of *The New York Times*, the only American paper to have a man permanently in Warsaw now, it would still have the reports of three news agencies to rely on.

Seymour Topping, foreign news editor of the *Times*, says, "I tell our men to report the story. If we get thrown out, we get thrown out. Considering

the influence of the paper and its readers, it takes a lot of consideration before a country will kick out a *Times* man."

On the other hand, the function of the news agencies is, as one editor put it, "to get out the meat and potatoes day after day." Therefore, if one agency's man was expelled, it would mean elimination of that agency's coverage of Poland. With the competition for clients keen among the agencies, not only in the United States but in Europe where in some areas news of Poland is practically local news, expulsion of an agency's man would be a sharp blow.

But the seriousness does not end there for a wire service man. Part of the assignment of both the AP and UPI men in Poland, in addition to reporting and writing, is to handle their agencies' business with Polish newspapers through the government press and photo agencies. This not only provides a sizable number of clients subscribing to the service, but it means a regular income of Polish funds, which can go toward meeting the costs of the news bureau, estimated at \$24,000 to more than \$30,000 a year. Thus, an expulsion could mean the loss of a considerable investment and income for the wire services.

It was not surprising to find that in interviews reporters for newspapers and reporters for AP and UPI, all of whom had served in Poland, differed sharply in their views of expulsions.

The newspapermen took a more fatalistic view of the threat, much like Topping's. One United States government official even claimed that for a newspaperman an expulsion "at the right time and for the right reasons" might help his career.

In interviews the agency men, however, considering their business and news responsibilities, seemed to equate expulsion with non-professionalism. "So

*A chronological list of the announced expulsions includes: August, 1957, Anthony J. Cavendish, United Press; February, 1959, Stanley Johnson, Associated Press; October, 1959, Philip Ben, *Le Monde*; November, 1959, A. M. Rosenthal, *The New York Times*; December, 1960, Eva Fournier, *France Soir*; January, 1962, Jean Wetz, *Le Monde*; August, 1963, Don Larrimore, United Press International; June, 1964, Laura Pilarski, a stringer for *The Milwaukee Journal*; December, 1965, David Halberstam, *The New York Times*. In addition, all reporters for *Newsweek* were banned early in 1967.

FOLLOW-UP

you're a hero with a scoop one day," one of them said, adding that beginning the next day his employer would have no news at all from Warsaw. Others said it did no good to be expelled and expulsion meant "letting the company down."

The effects of this attitude toward expulsion are more difficult to measure. For one thing, agency men said, their business responsibilities reduced the amount of time they could devote to reporting (as they do in all similar bureaus) in a country where reporting is often very time-consuming.

Even more important, the possibility of conflict between business and news responsibilities raises a serious question in a country where there is no official censorship.

Said one editor with experience on newspapers and in agencies: "I don't think any of those agency men in Warsaw would consciously shave their stories, but they know what's sensitive there and they know that getting bounced from Poland might jeopardize critical contracts. I don't think they would step away from a critical story, but how fast would they move in on one? You can always find another story to do instead."

While the wire reporters denied ever distorting their stories for fear of hurting their employer's business, they readily admitted changing the form of their reports at times.

One said stories from Poland came out "with a different tone and emphasis." Some said they might "play down" certain details they thought especially embarrassing to the government, although they would still include them in the story. "You can say things in your fifth paragraph that you couldn't get away with in the first," one wire service man said.

Another agency reporter said, "In Warsaw you might not write as sharply as elsewhere. Sometimes your stories are deliberately weasel-worded or fuzzy to convey, not to state, a meaning." For instance, he said, in his stories he referred to Wladyslaw Gomulka not as a dictator but as "Communist Party boss," which the reporter felt was a less dangerous way of saying the same thing.

As might be expected, the managements of AP and UPI deny any effects. A UPI spokesman said that in situations where the agency sells to gov-

ernment news agencies "one tends to overcompensate and proof of this is that we've always been in more hot water in [the countries where the service sells to a government news agency] than in those where there is no official or semi-official agency, or ... where we don't serve them."

The AP's general manager, Wes Gallagher, called such allegations "a pure pipe dream." He said, "If Poland adopted such a practice, we would pay no attention to it. Secondly, they have never attempted to influence the news report in ... any other financial manner..."

But one prominent editor and former foreign correspondent said: "If you ask the agencies, of course they'll deny it all outright, but the influence [of the expulsion threat] is still there."

To counteract this threat, both agency and newspaper reporters have developed means of protection. The most successful, they say, is to play on the government's desire for communications with United States voters, their government, and to some extent United Nations personnel, many of whom read reports in American publications.

One *Times* correspondent who was frequently summoned to the foreign ministry about his stories reportedly dropped word one day that he was considering moving the bureau to Prague. The summonses tapered off for a while.

A visiting American television reporter in Poland, when told by a government official over the phone that he could not interview some Roman Catholic priests, said he rushed to the foreign ministry to confront the official. The reporter said he was sure he had misunderstood the official over the phone because it sounded as if the reporter was being forbidden to see the priests and this, of course, would have to be reported on the network in the United States. The reporter saw the priests.

Other newsmen told of getting what they considered to be important, but touchy, stories. They filed the story. Then after the "beat" had been won, to protect themselves they tipped off their colleagues who filed their own stories. "There's safety in numbers," one said, "they can't kick us all out."

It is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain admissions from journalists that they are affected by the situation, especially since admissions would reflect on their professional capabilities. What is certain, however, is that the potential for news-business conflict exists in a Communist country already rife with difficulties for the American newsmen.

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NBC response

The National Broadcasting Company has supplied additional information on the incident mentioned in an editorial comment in the fall, 1967, issue, to the effect that station KNBC in Los Angeles, had supplied protest signs to students at a debate it was covering at Claremont Men's College. (The *Review's* comment was based on a story on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* of November 4.)

The chief NBC document is its Washington attorney's reply, dated December 7, to an inquiry from the Federal Communications Commission. The reply emphasizes that the program in question was not a spontaneous news event but one of a weekly series of discussions of public issues. The letter admits that the KNBC staff brought six signs — three "hawk" and three "dove" — for possible use on "the set." Students, seeing the signs, believed that they might be asked to hold them. The production staff, according to the letter, explained that it had no such intention, and the students called off their protest.

The chief point NBC seems to make is that the debate was not a news event but a pseudo-event, and that normal rules of authenticity do not apply.

Newspaper antitrust

An article by Robert A. Rutland ("Newspaper Antitrust: 'trade copy' only?") in the fall, 1967,

issue was completed before a concluding court action in the current phase of the case against the Times Mirror Company of Los Angeles. A ruling of October 11, 1967, had ordered the *Los Angeles Times* to divest itself of two newspapers it had acquired in San Bernardino. At that time, the government asked for an injunction prohibiting the company from buying any newspaper in California; the judge declined. Then the government asked for an injunction that would have forbidden any such acquisition for twelve years without permission of the federal court. On November 27, the government motion was denied. Times Mirror is appealing the original order.

Earlier in November, Walter H. Annenberg, president of Triangle Publications (which publishes two Philadelphia daily newspapers, as well as *Seventeen*, *TV Guide*, and *The Morning Telegraph* and owns broadcast properties) quit the Times Mirror board of directors. He had been elected August 30, but resigned when he found out that the Department of Justice was looking into possible violations of anti-trust laws that forbid interlocking directorates.

More Ali

News policies that leaned heavily toward the use of Cassius Clay, as opposed to Muhammed Ali (described in Michael Maidenbergs' "Ali or Clay?", fall, 1967), appear to be softening. In *The New York*

Times, Robert Lipsyte, newly designated a sports columnist, has repeatedly referred to "Muhammed Ali" without further identification. The UPI clipping reproduced below is from *The Washington Post* of December 6, 1967:

Court Action Discloses Ali, Wife, Expecting

HOUSTON, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Former heavyweight Champion Muhammad Ali and his teen-age bride are expecting a child, according to an affidavit filed today in U.S. District Court by an attorney for Ali.

The affidavit cited the pregnancy of Ali's wife, Belinda, 18, as further proof that his residence was Chicago, not Houston. The affidavit was filed in support of a motion to law inst Ali er de

"Stout words"

The letter below refers to an editorial in the summer, 1967, issue setting a *Review* policy of asking critics for amplification of general complaints about journalism:

Bully for your stout words in the summer issue of the *Review* about those vociferous but always vague critics of the press. My own experience has been similar. Whenever you ask them to pin it down, they have difficulty or else tell you they're too busy.

The point that's, being overlooked, it seems to me, is the fact that the "press" is itself such a vague and catch-all term. In most

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cases, I think, the critics have one paper in mind, or even one story in one paper, when they sound off. Or perhaps it's a television program that rubbed them the wrong way. Seizing on a single incident, they then inveigh against the entire journalistic establishment as if it were a monolithic organization, all parts of which respond to the same stimuli in the same manner at the same time.

CHARLES T. DUNCAN
Dean of Faculties
University of Oregon

Auto advertising

The writer of the following letter is on the staff of Farley Manning Associates of New York, a public relations firm.

Though no particular fan of American automobiles or some of the marketing techniques which presumably sell them, I cannot accept Jeffrey O'Connell's indictment of performance advertising for teenagers in "Lambs to Slaughter" [fall, 1967].

Mr. O'Connell overlooks the basic fact that the performance carenthusiast, be he teenager or pensioner, has always motivated Detroit rather than subscribed to its policies.

High performance equipment now being merchandised was not developed by the automakers, but by the hot rod movement, which began in California in the late '40's and by the European sports car community as far back as the '20's. Multiple carburetion, altered camshafts, and other means of increasing the power available from "stock" engines, as well as four-speed floor-operated transmissions, limited slip differentials, improved

suspensions, and interior controls were all born in backyard garages or small shops because the enthusiasts wanted them.

Even styling has been heavily influenced by these groups. California customers dictated a good part of Detroit styling changes in 1949 to 1952. Later, the work of Continental body designers, the Italians in particular, saw many of their basic lines appear in American showrooms.

Organized drag racing, to which much of the advertising Mr. O'Connell criticizes is directed, became tremendously popular before Detroit offered a single performance option, much less any marketing activity for this audience.

Among the so-called "teenage magazines" which are listed as media for imparting the alleged Detroit death wish, at least two — *Road and Track* and *Car and Driver* — have median subscriber ages well into the '30's.

It would seem that Mr. O'Connell, like Ralph Nader, has little basic familiarity with the kind of automobile or its applications. Those who do decry this kind of ill-qualified sensationalism in consumer protection, well-intentioned though it may be.

CHARLES B. WOLFE

The writer of the following letter is director of the public relations division of the Automotive Safety Foundation of Washington.

TO THE REVIEW:

In his "Lambs to Slaughter" article in the fall, 1967, issue of the *Review*, Professor O'Connell describes the Automotive Safety Foundation as "an institution fi-

nanced and controlled by the car makers."

This error probably was caused by the somewhat misleading name of the organization. It should be corrected in fairness to the thirteen other business and industry groups which support the Foundation's program and participate in its control through a Board of Trustees, an Executive Committee and elective officers.

When the foundation was organized thirty years ago as a non-profit, public service institution, it took over the program of grants then being conducted by the Automobile Manufacturers Association. Hence the name.

But other industries joined in support of the program, and the automobile manufacturers from the inception limited their financial support to 50 per cent of the total. This policy continues, with the Automobile Manufacturers Association matching dollar for dollar each year the contributions of others to the Foundation.

The other supporters include at present advertising agencies, media and graphic arts suppliers, (more than 100 of them this year); aluminum, petroleum, parts and equipment manufacturers, banks, finance companies, insurance, automobile dealers, tire dealers and retreaders, cement, rubber manufacturers, school bus body manufacturers, steel and wheel and rim companies.

Each year the budget of the foundation goes up or down according to the support of these "non-automotive" groups, since the contribution of the Automobile Manufacturers Association is limited to a matching amount.

The board of trustees is fairly representative of all contributing industries, and the executive committee consists of the chairman, the president and a vice chairman from each of the major groups.

The foundation has been led over its thirty years by nine distinguished board chairmen; of these, three were from the automobile industry, two from the tire industry and four from petroleum. The present chairman is J. W. Keener,

president of the B. F. Goodrich Company.

If Professor O'Connell was deceived by the foundation's name, and thinks we ought to change it, he may have a point. This has been under consideration by the executive committee for some time, despite the difficulties and risks inherent in such a change.

JOHN W. GIBBONS

Mr. O'Connell replies:

I see nothing at all "erroneous," contrary to Mr. Gibbons's assertion, in saying, as I did, that the small group that founded the foundation in question and now contribute 50 per cent of its financial support (to supplement the contributions of its allies in such industries as tires and petroleum) "finance and control" that foundation.

Much more significant is that Mr. Gibbons has nothing at all to say concerning the main point of my article—namely, that the car makers' advertisements undercut the message and indeed the purpose of the Automotive Safety Foundation. Why not?

As to Mr. Wolfe's defense of irresponsible appeals in automotive advertising: by analogy, I suppose, he would contend that a dope peddler—even one who sells to the young—is not guilty of any wrongdoing since he generally just feeding pre-existing addictions.

Letters

TO THE REVIEW:

To complete a full set of the *Review*, I would like to hear from anyone from whom I might beg, borrow, steal—or perhaps purchase—the following issues: Pilot Issue, Spring 1964, and Spring 1965.

ROBERT A. JURAN

Newspaper Editorial Workshop
Services

190 Bristol-Oxford Valley Rd.
Langhorne, Pa. 19047

ROBERT A. JURAN

TO THE REVIEW:

As a former student and teacher at Columbia, and as a working journalist, I never thought I'd see the day when Columbia University would be blatantly and senselessly practicing censorship over the news media. But I'm afraid that day has come.

I produce programs for *ABC Scope*, a weekly half-hour television documentary series on the Viet Nam war. Incidentally, let me make it clear before I go any further that this letter is a personal one, and is written without the knowledge, consent, or approval of my employers.

Late last November, I got in touch with the university's office of public relations for radio and television to get permission to do some filming on campus. I was working on a program on Viet Nam veterans, and one of the veterans I had chosen to film was a student at the law school. He had, of course, given his full agreement to the project.

I wanted to film him walking across campus, and also to do an interview with him in the law school library. Through the radio and television office, I requested permission to do both.

When permission to film him in the library was turned down, I was neither terribly surprised nor disturbed. After all, filming in a library does raise the problem of annoying other people.

But, incredibly, I was also refused permission to film this student walking across the Columbia campus.

The reasons for my being refused were variously stated. One assistant to whom I first talked told me it was feared the student was being exploited. When I told her that just wasn't so, that he'd given him permission, and that the program was certainly in the public interest, she turned me over to the head of the office.

I talked to him, and later to two other people connected with the university. It was explained to me that the university was especially sensitive at this time, and that the controversies over the

cigarette filter, the new gymnasium, and the Viet Nam war were causing Columbia great concern over public relations.

I am afraid that, in my view, all these reasons boil down to nonsense, and that the university's "sensitivity" at this time might accurately be labelled "paranoia."

One learns to expect reactions like that from the Pentagon. But not from a great university—where I learned—and taught—the virtues of freedom of information and the pursuit of truth.

I can only conclude that the university itself does not take very seriously the lessons it teaches to students.

SAMUEL M. GOODMAN
New York

TO THE REVIEW:

Please refer to your summer, 1967, issue, page 46, first item under "Reports."

I wonder where Richard L. Strout of *The Christian Science Monitor* found facts to support his statement that the Little Orphan Annie strip is being read by children, much less conditioning them.

When I was working in New York during the early 1930's, the salesmen for the Chicago Tribune Syndicate said that the readers of this feature were old ladies. This was claimed as a result of at least one survey, supported by what amounted to a test of readership made by the creator of the strip.

In the latter, the creator put Annie into bed and made her illness worsen day by day until it seemed that the child would die soon. The letters pleading for Annie's life were said to have been more convincing than previous surveys.

Oh, yes, that was nearly forty years ago. The strip's readership may have changed, but the last time I saw a copy of it, there was little if any change in the basic appeals. Seems to me, Annie still reaches the little old ladies, perhaps the one from Dubuque, too.

ARLIE BELCHER
The Craftsman
Fort Worth

the lower case

You haven't changed at all

The two photographs below appeared in the Chicago Tribune for December 18, 1967. The top one is labeled as having been shot in 1967 in New York; the bottom one, in 1962 in Washington. Yet Mrs. Kennedy is wearing the same suit, same hair style, and same jewelry in both, and Sir David seems to have kept on the same tie and suit. Moreover, there is a New York tree that seems identical with the one in the Washington background.

when Bobby and Jack came to visit Kathleen who was then living in London."

When the Ormsby-Gores first came to Washington in 1961 veteran reporter Betty Beale wrote, "This couple turned the other foreign chiefs of mission green with envy even before their arrival." She listed their assets as youth, brains, lineage, and intimacy with the President.

Willow Class, a Natural Hostess

Lady Ormsby-Gore was described variously as "willow" — "with lustrous dark brown hair, hazel eyes with violet shadows above them and that lovely translucent complexion for which the British ladies are so famous" — "fatters like a butterfly" — "loves to garden" — "likes simple clothes."

Clay was so natural she took Washington by storm. One of the White House gossip legends: "When you call Clay on the phone you can hear kids screaming and almost feel them tugging on her skirts. There's nothing stuff here. . . ." Another remarked, "She never seems to be quite sure the wine will appear."

The Ormsby-Gores did not always play by the rule book. They broke Washington up when they offered the Beatles to their distinguished guests at the height of the foursome's fame.

Indefatigable at tossing "fun" parties, they made headlines in London when they gave "the party of the year" in 1966.



New York, 1967: Sir David Ormsby-Gore and Jackie

The Man Most Likely to Win Jackie

Thirty neighbors complained about the "loud music," which Lord Harlech said was the only kind appreciated by the young. Princess Margaret, Princess Alexandra, the Spanish ambassador, members of Parliament swung along with the hippie pals of the Ormsby-Gore children, and his lordship later donated \$250 to charity by way of apology for the noise.

Lady Ormsby-Gore's daughter Jane married Lord Harlech.

Lord Harlech said of his work as a censor: "Sex? A difficult area. What's acceptable varies from generation to generation. You have to learn what is acceptable at a particular moment."

"I have catholic tastes. I am prepared to go and see any sort of film. I am certainly exposed to young influences by me. They like absolutely everything, including sex."

seem to dog the Kennedys, their friends, and family.

Jackie had really come out of her mourning and depression during the preceding year, and she had seemed almost back to normal. But Clay's death plunged her back into the past.

With Bobby, Eunice Shriver, and Jean Smith, she flew to England for the funeral. She stood at the flower-lined grave in England. Each had her own night.



Washington, 1962: British Prime Minister Macmillan, JFK, Ormsby-Gore, Jackie, and Lady Ormsby-Gore.

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Look-alikes

John Kenneth Galbraith, on page 69 of The New York Times of November 8, 1967, had a twin appear on page 70 (right).



John Kenneth Galbraith

rol-...e business in

Composing-room humor?

The first babies of 1968 appeared in The Seattle Times of January 1 next to the line identifying the edition:

NIGHT SPORTS FINAL

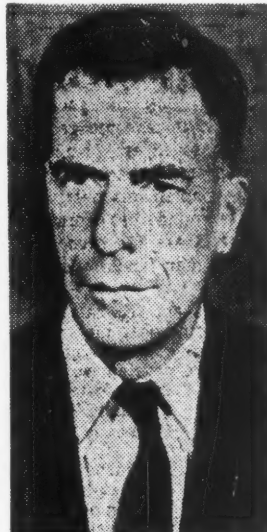


Mrs. Robert Douglas smiled at her infant son, Robert Harry Palmer Douglas 3rd, the first baby reported born in Seattle in 1968.



Mrs. Manuel del Villar held her first child, a boy, the second infant born in the Seattle area on New Year's Day.

Paine, Webber Admits New General Partner



Fabian Bachrach

Samuel A. Gay

The admission of Samuel A. Gay as a general partner was announced by

Typography anonymous

Minneapolis Star, October 3, 1967 (the intended word was contraceptive):

Contractive Beer Suggested

ADDITIVE CALLED POSSIBLE

San Francisco Examiner, August 24, 1967:

BEVERLY HILLS — (UPI) -- Joey Gibson, 21, whose nude, fold-out photograph graced the June issue of Playboy magazine, has been convinced of prostitution.

The attorney for the plaintiff, a paymate of the

The Cincinnati Enquirer, December 13, 1967:

*Viola! UC
Students 'Create'
A Paris Cafe*

Audience of one: Boston Globe, January 14, 1968

*N.E. Newsman to Hear
Sen. McCarthy Jan. 25*

A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

That [television] has not fulfilled Orwell's prediction that it would be used to "brainwash" citizens is simply due to the fact that brainwashing doesn't seem to have a ready sponsor to pay for the time.—*David Karp, in "A Look Back Into the Tube," The New York Times Magazine, November 19, 1967.*

I believe in commercial television. Ultimately, we must have it as a meaningful alternative to Public Television.—*Thomas P. F. Hoving, chairman of the National Citizens Committee for Public Television, before the educational broadcasters' convention in Denver, November 14, 1967.*

The Justice Department has a lot of young lawyers; they have to go through the motions of doing some work.—*Richard W.*

Clarke, chairman of Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, on the filing of an antitrust suit against his organization, quoted in The Wall Street Journal, November 22, 1967.

This much, then, can be said for "A Pride of Prejudices." It looks good on a coffee table even if you never open it.—*Vermont Royster, editor of The Wall Street Journal, reviewing his own book in the issue of November 8, 1967 (to spare another reviewer discomfiture).*

...conservatism is receiving almost equal billing with the liberal writers who have for so long dominated the editorial pages of our country's newspapers.—*Barry Goldwater, announcing the termination of his column, Los Angeles Times, December 31, 1967.*

